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CIS Leaders Issue Statements, Hold Summit

Kravchuk Favors Further Integration

LD1405141893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1344 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—Ukraine's two top officials, the president and the prime minister, have called for stronger economic ties within the Commonwealth of Independent States.

They were speaking at Vnukovo airport upon arrival in Moscow to take part in the CIS summit. President Leonid Kravchuk, who said his country favoured stronger links within the post-Soviet community, stressed the need to consider "ways of economic interaction and integration within the Commonwealth" but added that forms of such cooperation were another matter." [no opening quotation mark as received]

Kravchuk also said the situation and the psychological make-up of part of the people called for new formulas. It would be better to call the new community "an association or an agreement on a common market of the CIS member-countries", but the word "union" should be avoided as reminiscent of the Soviet Union era.

Kravchuk said the creation of an economic association on democratic principles with the participation of the parliaments would take long to accomplish but favoured steps leading to such cooperation.

Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, who arrived in Moscow together with Kravchuk, told ITAR-TASS that the Commonwealth would get nowhere without an economic alliance and stressed that "Kiev is ready for cooperation in the economic field" and for the necessary coordination of efforts with other states. "I do not believe in complete neutrality", Kuchma said.

Karimov Calls For Concrete Actions

LD1405140493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1154 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—"The period of declarative and general decisions is over within the Commonwealth of Independent States. Today, it is necessary to decide once and for all the question of whether there will be such a Commonwealth or not," Uzbek President Islam Karimov stated upon his arrival in Moscow for the CIS summit today.

He told journalists at Vnukovo airport here that the current summit "must decide the main question of whether we shall get down to concrete negotiations on cooperation, interaction and integration, or the time has come to put an end to all such talks".

The Uzbek president wants today's summit to decide on the establishment of concrete bodies that could guarantee cooperation within the frameworks of the CIS. He expressed concern about the introduction of national currency in Kyrgyzstan, which borders on the Uzbek republic. In his opinion, a rouble intervention into Uzbekistan could "undermine our economy and empty our shops".

Ter-Petrosyan Comments on Conflicts

LD1405121393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1136 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 14 May—Armenia is participating in all constructive processes of the CIS, and together with Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus forms the nucleus of the Commonwealth, and has no intention of leaving it. This was stated by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, who arrived in the Russian capital today, to take part in the extraordinary meeting of heads of state and governments of the CIS that opens today.

Replying to a question about the economic alliance that will be debated today, Levon Ter-Petrosyan said that he was more familiar with the terms cooperation and coordination. Regarding the problem of Karabakh, the Armenian president stated that in principle he supports the initiative of Russia, the United States, and Turkey. At the same time, he noted that this initiative does not contain sufficient guarantees for a cease-fire. Replying to an ITAR-TASS correspondent's question regarding the status of Nagorno-Karabakh, Levon Ter-Petrosyan confirmed Yerevan's position that at the present stage Armenia will not raise the question of status. First and foremost, he said, peace and a cease-fire must be achieved. The question of status, he went on, should arise at the stage of political negotiations. At the moment, raising the question of Nagorno-Karabakh's status, from whatever source, can only hinder the process of a peace settlement.

Participants Noted

LD1405140793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1320 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov, Gennadiy Talalayev, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 14 May—A plenary session of the CIS Council of Heads of State has opened in Moscow's "President Hotel." It was preceded by a meeting of leaders of Commonwealth member-countries behind closed doors. The meeting is being attended by leaders of Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Turkmenistan,

Tajikistan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, and Uzbekistan. Representatives of Azerbaijan and Georgia are attending as observers.

The session is chaired by Boris Yeltsin. Opening the session, he said that the purpose of today's meeting is extremely clear: "Strengthening the CIS not in words but in deeds." The Russian president said that integration in the sphere of the economy is the strategic course of the CIS today.

The session's agenda includes five issues: On creating an economic alliance, on a program for preparing draft documents on further strengthening of the CIS, on the Coordinating and Consultative Committee of the Commonwealth, on the CIS Executive Secretariat, and on permanent plenipotentiary representatives of CIS member-states at CIS statutory [ustavnykh] bodies. The issue of approving Belarus Justice Minister Leonid Dashuk as chairman of the CIS Economic Court and a briefing by Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander-in-chief of CIS joint Armed Forces, will be included in the discussion of any other business.

Yeltsin Addresses Summit

LD1305152493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1346 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov, Gennadiy Talalayev, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 14 May—"The significance of today's meeting is utterly clear. It is the strengthening of our Commonwealth of Independent States not just in words but in practice," Russian President Boris Yeltsin stated today, opening the session of the Council of CIS Heads of State.

He stated that last year the view of the CIS as a form of "civilized divorce" "determined first and foremost, the attitude of our states to carry out the accords that we reached at previous meetings. All this time our countries have been 'sailing along autonomously', but experience itself has shown that genuine independence has little in common with voluntary solitude and with political and economic seclusion," he said.

Boris Yeltsin stressed that "'civilized divorce' and total reciprocal alienation has not received the people's support in a single one of the CIS states."

"Russia has always been an advocate of deep integration," Boris Yeltsin went on. "But taking into consideration our history, we approached this question with maximum care and thoroughness. I believe," the president noted, "that during the time that has passed all states of the Commonwealth have obtained sufficient proof of our true intentions.

"We are in favor of rapprochement, not by diktat, but on the basis of voluntariness and the free choice of each state", Boris Yeltsin stated. "We are in favor of equality of rights and mutually advantageous cooperation that is of benefit and use not only to our states, but above all to our citizens and our peoples.

"I believe," the Russian leader went on, "that for 1993 we can set a new standard of relations in the CIS. We are realists and we understand that we will not reach this level in one go. Each of us has to proceed along our own independent path. Each of us is free to stop where we consider it necessary or, on the other hand, to accelerate."

But he considers it fundamentally important that "we can now speak quite freely about integration and—this is most important—we are moving in this direction. I believe that this is our common strategic line."

"Today we already have a concrete program of movement along the path of integration. Nearly all the states are speaking out clearly in favor of creating closer forms of economic management and interaction and for an economic alliance, or perhaps some other name but with the same idea."

Boris Yeltsin noted that formation of the CIS economic alliance is a "breakthrough in the life of our Commonwealth." At the same time he stressed that to create a genuine economic alliance is not simple: "While the mechanism of our economic cooperation is far from being perfect, it is getting bogged down, and has shortcomings." In this respect the president added that "the ruble zone has in fact collapsed." He stressed that if the states of the Commonwealth set a course toward an economic union, "each of our states should take upon itself serious obligations with regard to one another and what is the main thing—fulfill them.

"We cannot think of an economic alliance without a uniform economic space, without an agreed strategy for economic reforms, without coordination of our actions in the sphere of economic policy," Boris Yeltsin stressed.

The president particularly noted the fundamental importance of supporting entrepreneurial activity, of creating favorable regimes of activity of managing subjects on territories of the CIS countries. "Russia is ready to set up a currency union as an inalienable part of the economic alliance, the question of debts owed by the states of the Commonwealth to Russia must also be settled," he continued, and added that a possible way of doing this might be by transferring the debts regarding technical credits to an interstate debt and repaying it according to universally recognized conditions. He also spoke out in favor of speeding up the setting up of an interstate bank before 10 July, so that the bank can start operating beginning on 1 October.

The president considers that one of the first steps toward the creation of an economic union should be the formation of a customs union, which would make it "possible to remove all barriers in the way of the movement of goods, capital, and services." In his view, this needs a coordinated price policy. Boris Yeltsin supported a proposal to invest the CIS Coordinating and Consultative

Committee with the duty of preparing documents on the creation of an economic union.

According to Boris Yeltsin, an economic union also needs a coordinated foreign economic policy. In addition, he said, citizens must sense to the fullest, a real return from economic integration.

An economic union, the president emphasized, is impossible without close interaction in other fields, too. "It is a matter also of a collective security system and the coordination of stances on key political and economic problems and on the issues of defending human rights and liberties," Boris Yeltsin said in conclusion.

Leaders Adopt Economic Union Declaration

LD1405195393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1550 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov, Gennadiy Talalayev, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 14 May—The heads of state of the Commonwealth member countries declared their determination to move toward deep integration and creation of a common market for the free transfer of goods, services, capital, and labor resources in the common economic space of these states, and to move gradually toward economic union. This is stated in a declaration signed by the CIS heads of state on the results of the meeting held today in Moscow.

As noted at the final news conference, the declaration was signed by all the leaders from the CIS states, except for Turkmenistan's, who, according to Ivan Korotchenya, coordinator of the CIS working group, deferred as he had not studied the documents sufficiently prior to the meeting. Ukrainian President Kravchuk did have an opportunity to comment on the document, noting that although Ukraine fully supports the idea of integration, more thought could be given to the title: Economic Alliance.

The adopted declaration states that in moving toward economic union, CIS states see their objectives in promoting the mutual interests of Commonwealth states; fruitful development of free economic links between enterprises, producers, and consumers; and, the removal of all obstacles impeding direct cooperation.

The heads of the CIS states set as the next immediate task on the path toward economic union the development of customs cooperation and formation of a customs union. They also consider it necessary to implement a coordinated financial, credit, monetary, and foreign currency policy.

The Commonwealth leaders stated in the declaration that they will consistently introduce market forms of economic management, follow a coordinated strategy for implementing economic reforms, and conduct an active social policy. To this end they consider it necessary to concentrate efforts of individual governmental and Commonwealth structures on preparing—in the very near future—the relevant documents and carrying out practical steps to set up the economic union.

Heads of State Hold News Conference

LD1405212193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1740 GMT 14 May 93

[News conference by Russian President Boris Yeltsin on results of Extraordinary Meeting of CIS Heads of State, including comments by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, Kyrgyzstan Vice President Feliks Kulov, and Ivan Korotchenya, coordinator of the CIS working group, at question and answer session with domestic correspondents; in Moscow on 14 May—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, respected representatives of the press, the extraordinary meeting of the heads of states has come to an end. We are ready to hold a news conference. May I give the floor to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, who chaired today's sitting of the Council of the Heads of State.

[Yeltsin] Good afternoon, esteemed journalists! A new, and as it seems to me qualitatively new, conference of the Council of CIS Heads of State was held in Moscow today. We managed to take major steps toward developing and strengthening the Commonwealth. Steering bodies were defined; a number of fundamental issues regarding a phased creation of an economic union were resolved. This is an important event in the life of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Until recently there were many skeptics both among politicians and journalists. However, life itself has demonstrated that true independence has little in common with political and economic swindling, especially if we are talking about states that have had a common destiny for decades and centuries.

Yet another important circumstance has been clarified: A policy toward our divorce has received no popular support in any of the CIS states. As for Russia, from the onset it has been advocating deep integration, not by exerting pressure, but on a voluntary basis and on the basis of free choice by each state.

For the Russian side, work on the meeting was facilitated by the fact that a fundamentally new political situation has emerged since the referendum in Russia. The citizens of Russia confirmed their confidence in the president and the government and backed the policy of profound transformations.

I would like to say once again that I regard the vote of confidence given by the people and their support for the reforms as a direct instruction to move forward decisively along the path of democracy and transformation. The first signs of economic stabilization are now appearing. These events have had a positive effect on our

resolve to speed up the processes of political and economic cooperation within the framework of the CIS. We now see more clearly the means and methods of implementing them.

In this respect it is necessary first to mention the program for preparing the documents on further strengthening the Commonwealth. These documents will form the basis of the new relations in the CIS and will create the possibility for drawing together with a new dynamism. Twenty-five such documents will be prepared. At the same time each member certainly is free either to stop where he thinks necessary or, on the contrary, to speed up the movement. All 25 documents should be approved during 1993. As a set of documents they form a strong legal foundation for the development of the Commonwealth. I regard it as being of fundamental importance that we are now talking quite uninhibitedly about our integration and, most importantly, we are really moving forward in this direction.

Essentially today we already have a concrete program for gradual integration. This is a very important, fundamental document, and on its basis the participants in the Commonwealth have the possibility of full cooperation, calmly resolving problems or disagreements without giving up their sovereignty.

From an organizational point of view, it is important that the Council of Heads of State has finally defined its cooperation bodies. These are a coordinating and consultative committee, a CIS executive secretariat and the institution of CIS permanent representatives. Ivan Mikhailovich Korotchenya has been confirmed as executive secretary. The Coordinating Consultative Committee is envisaged under the Commonwealth Charter as the standing executive and coordinating body of the Commonwealth.

It will be responsible for implementing decisions of the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government, and will draw up and coordinate proposals for cooperation in all fields. The committee will be headed by a chairman elected for six months, the principle being a regular rotation of deputy heads of government. On behalf of Russia, I have already signed a decree that Russia's representative on this committee will be deputy head of government Aleksandr Nikolayevich Shokhin.

The executive secretariat will be tasked with providing logistic support. As part of the main goal to politically strengthen the CIS, I would include the adoption of a declaration on international obligations in human rights and fundamental freedoms, and also a document on aid for refugees. The Russian Federation will be ready to submit draft versions of these documents this month.

In addition, it has been agreed to draft urgent measures to protect people who have suffered because of armed conflicts.

I want briefly to touch upon defense issues. At the present stage we have reached agreement to elaborate a mechanism for implementing the Collective Security Treaty which was signed a year ago. It is a matter of setting up the bodies of the collective security council and appointing the council's general or executive secretary.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, everyone knows how important the issues are of strengthening the CIS in the economic sphere. I regard it as paramount that all the CIS member states expressed themselves unequivocally in favor of the creation of an economic union. That may be its name or it may be changed by the proposals of certain heads of state. This is of course a breakthrough in the life of the Commonwealth. The participants in the meeting of CIS Heads of State adopted a declaration stating their determination to proceed along the path of deep integration and to create a common market for the free movement of goods, capital, and services. It is obvious that an economic union may operate to the fullest only under conditions of a uniform economic space and with coordination of strategy on economic reform and coordination of economic policy. A serious linkage of economic mechanisms is needed. Russia is ready to move toward the creation of a currency union as an inseparable part of an economic union.

We consider that it is also necessary to speed up the creation of an Inter-state Bank. An immediate task on the way to an economic union is the development of customs cooperation. To all intents and purposes we need a customs union, and this means that an effective customs regime needs to be set up on our common borders, as well as a special supra-national customs body. This is, of course, a delicate issue which touches upon the sovereignty of each state: But if we are seriously talking about economic integration, we must evidently opt for that.

All those taking part in today's meeting understand that the move toward an economic union demands that a number of difficult and sometimes sore political and socioeconomic problems be solved. Therefore, they plan to introduce market-based forms of economic management, to follow a coordinated strategy of economic reforms, and pursue an active social policy. It is planned in the near future, by 1 July, to draw up the relevant documents and to take practical steps to create an economic union.

Under the Any Other Business section today, we heard a report from Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces; and a decision was made to discuss and adopt his whole package of documents at the next sitting, which will be held in Yerevan on 16 July.

Summing up the results of the Moscow meeting, I can say that a major step has been taken toward integration of the CIS member countries. It has been a victory for common sense, for economic and political realism, and

for the healthy interest of the populations of the CIS countries. Thank you, we are ready to answer your questions.

[Korotchenya] Esteemed colleagues! I would like to warn you that the news conference will last 30 minutes. Hence a request for short questions. I hope answers will be short as well. First microphone, go ahead, please.

[Plotnikov] Plotnikov of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and MOLOD UKRAINY. Boris Nikolayevich has just outlined the concept of an economic union, so we would be very interested now to hear an interpretation of this concept from the leaders of those countries that have an interest in this form of cooperation. I would like to ask you, Nursultan Abishevich, and you Leonid Makarovich, to express your opinion as to what economic union there might or might not be.

[Nazarbayev] Our meeting today has proceeded directly from our meeting on 16 April in Minsk where we discussed the only issue and agreed on it—the strengthening of the CIS—without adopting documents. Today we adopted a declaration, not the union itself as yet. The union, the document on the economic union should be prepared by 1 July. One republic opposed the word union, but I think that the word union is used all over the world; therefore, particularly where an economic union is concerned, that is exactly what it should be called. But it should not be like the CEMA, when the former Soviet Union dominated and managed everything. It should be like the European Community of equal, sovereign states. And it is toward that, I hope, that we will be moving. The issue has been on the agenda for a long time already. On Kazakhstan's proposal in Bishkek we discussed creating a coordinating committee and made a decision. Today, finally, we set it up. That is, we should not feel euphoric about these decisions. We all should ensure that it finally becomes an active organization.

[Kravchuk] Ukraine has always been an advocate of economic integration, and put forward draft documents which were distributed to the members of the Commonwealth in Minsk. Therefore, we support economic integration and will continue to do so. Ukraine today raised an objection over the name of the future body or document [as heard] that will determine the main principles of life in the economic market. We are against the name, not simply on formal grounds. We base our objection on the fact that categories—as philosophers say—have a general meaning and possess certain conciseness and logic. Second, we proceed from the idea that no matter how large a proportion of the population may call for the restoration of the Union, in the minds of a considerable number of our people—though not all—the concept of a union has negative connotations. That is why we proposed that a different formulation, a different name, might be found without rejecting the principle of economic integration. This is the first thing I wanted to say. Second, Russia's approach does appeal to us in so far as Russia is advocating a stage-by-stage solution of the issue.

I am against haste in these difficult problems, since if you look at the whole blueprint of the economic union—as it is called—it ends with a very strong consolidation of all ties: financial, credit, economic, customs, and others. One should not forget that over the last year or two the CIS states have gone a very long way in their national legislations. We should not take steps that would cancel out or cause any loss of sovereignty and cancel out—I repeat—national legislations. Naturally this could have caused, and it will inevitably cause, confrontation of political forces and we cannot allow this.

It should be a very gentle movement, taking into consideration the peculiarities and interests of the states as well as the historical, factual, and logical factors, while also taking into consideration the interests of the Commonwealth. That is Ukraine's position.

[Korotchenya] Thank you, Leonid Makarovich. Second microphone.

[Unidentified correspondent] Ukrainian TV. I have a question for the Ukrainian president. Esteemed Leonid Makarovich, Ukraine has not signed the CIS Charter. Do we participate in the steering bodies which have been mentioned? And, if possible, could you please tell us to what degree will Ukraine take part in drawing up the mechanism of collective security in the defense sphere? Thank you.

[Kravchuk] In the field of collective security, Ukraine has clearly defined its position—military and technical cooperation at the present stage. Military and technical cooperation in all spheres and at all levels. Ukraine has not signed the Charter, but today Ukraine signed the documents on the consultative committee with corresponding reservations, on the appointment of the head of the secretariat—the declaration—and it also signed a decision on the preparation of a document on the future economic union. I call it economic union for the sake of argument because I want it to be understood what is under discussion, which is the terminology for the sake of argument but not the essence. Ukraine is participating in all issues connected with economic cooperation and broad integration within the CIS framework. As for all other issues, Ukraine is participating only in those where there are no relevant provisions in our legislation or decisions of the Supreme Soviet on these issues.

[Korotchenya] Thank you. Third microphone.

[Unidentified correspondent] From INTERFAX. Boris Nikolayevich, can I ask you a question as the chairman? You have said that every country, every independent state, may choose that point of the path which reflects its approach toward this new formation. Does this mean that it is possible to gradually enter this new formation—the economic union—or whatever we would like to call it? Does this mean that there will be a different degree of integration at the initial stage?

[Yeltsin] Yes, under the decisions we made today and the declaration on setting up the economic union and

preparing a whole set of documents, each state can agree to some documents and sign them and not accept other documents. This is the right of each state. Therefore, I can say that one state will follow the policy of integration to the end, while another state will perhaps stop half way through, and yet another state—three quarters of the way, etc. This does not bother us at all. And this should not bother anyone. The CIS is a viable body. It is a living organism; therefore, cliches are out of place here.

[Nazarbayev] I would like to add with respect to this important issue that the decision to prepare the documents on the economic union has an appendix in the form of a recommendation signed by the heads of government. The recommendation says there are states that will remain in the ruble zone; naturally, this is one form of integration and there are states—I mean all the rest of the states—and this is a different form of integration. Therefore, the recommendation that our governments have prepared reflects this. Therefore, you have understood everything correctly.

[Unidentified correspondent] Thank you.

[Korotchenya] Thank you. Fourth microphone.

[Unidentified correspondent] From ITAR-TASS, a question for the president of Kazakhstan. Nursultan Abishevich, does the blueprint of the economic union envisage or does it assume delegating part of sovereignty in favor of this union? My second question: Have all the participants in today's meeting signed the declaration?

[Nazarbayev] Ivan Mikhaylovich will probably tell you who hasn't signed the documents. I didn't look at that.

[Korotchenya] Everyone signed them.

[Nazarbayev] Everyone, yes? I personally signed all the documents because jointly with Russia and other states we were actively involved in drafting them. In times of peace any independent and sovereign state, signing a treaty with another independent and sovereign state, always undertakes an obligation and naturally delegates its powers. But because of this common powers increase and all the states win from it—in trade and in mutual relations. Therefore, naturally when we bring our legislation closer—if there is a single credit and emission policy in the ruble zone, if taxation legislation is brought together, and if we work together in the fight against inflation—naturally we will have to bring our legislation closer. This is something that has to be decided: Who is and who isn't going to be in this organization.

[Korotchenya] Let me remind you that the Council of Heads of State today decided to endorse Leonid Andreyevich Dashuk, the justice minister of the Republic of Belarus, as chairman of the economic court. Go ahead.

[Karimov] By way of comment, I'd like to say that the issue of how each state within the economic union would delegate its powers was not discussed today. We did not discuss today or predetermine on what account republics' and states' sovereignty or independence could be impinged upon or delegated to supra-national structures, and we probably don't have the right to take this upon ourselves.

[Korotchenya] Right, thank you. Microphone 1.

[Medvedev] Oleg Medvedev, from the KOMMERSANT DAILY. I have a question for the vice president of Kyrgyzstan. There have been reports that the meeting was brought forward partly because Kyrgyzstan has introduced its own national currency. What can you tell us about this? Also, a question for the coordinator of the working group: What can you say about Turkmenistan's position at the meeting today? Why is President Niyazov not at the news conference?

[Feliks Kulov] I didn't get your question about bringing something forward. Bringing what forward?

[Medvedev] The meeting, bringing it forward from 26 to 14 May.

[Kulov] Our introduction of a national currency was not discussed or reviewed today.

[Korotchenya] As for Turkmenistan's position, the president and his entire delegation took part in the discussion of all the documents. As you know, they abstained from signing the decision on an economic union, and asked for time for further reflection and study. I would simply like to remind you that the meeting after next—in September or early October—is planned and we discussed this issue today: It will be held in Ashgabat. By this time perhaps Turkmenistan will be ready to sort out all the issues relating to the CIS. Microphone 2, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] The UKRINFORM agency. I have a question for the president of Russia. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, in a number of countries it is constantly being bandied about that relations and cooperation with Ukraine are being held back because Ukraine's parliament has still not ratified the START I Treaty. Is this view held in Russia? What, in your view, are the prospects for concluding an interstate treaty between Russia and Ukraine? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] I do not regard our relations with Ukraine as being in any way unfavorable, and certainly not because of one issue or because the START I Treaty has not been ratified. This is a specific issue which is under discussion and to which many states, both CIS countries and others, are committed. There is some concern, which is only natural, as to why Ukraine has taken so long to ratify the treaty, whereas Russia has ratified it and is now preparing to ratify the START II Treaty. This in no way, however, influences our relations, neither my relations with President Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk of Ukraine, nor Ukraine's relations with Russia. On the contrary, in the economic sphere we are enjoying closer relations and cooperation. The heads of government have started working in a very specific way and have

started to hold frequent meetings to discuss their problems. I think that our relations will improve rather than deteriorate.

[Korotchenya] Thank you. Your question, please, at the third microphone.

[Lebedev] Lebedev of (KRYMSKAYA) PRAVDA and [word indistinct] GAZETA. A question for the president of Russia. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, you talked about the need for mutual settlement of debts and a subsequent civilized solution to this issue. Following on that, could you answer the following question: In a few days, on 18 May, Crimea will be marking a day of remembrance for the victims of the deportations. Crimea was part of the Russian Federation when the Tatars, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, and others were deported from Crimea. Furthermore, Russia has proclaimed itself to be the legal successor of the Soviet Union on all property matters. Russia has proclaimed itself the legal successor on matters relating to sanatoriums, and Russia has gotten a few dozen sanatoriums back. Russia proclaimed itself the legal successor in matters relating to the fleet...

[Korotchenya, interrupting] Keep your questions brief.

[Lebedev] I am just finishing now... and is receiving a considerable part of it. What interests me, then, is whether Russia regards itself as the legal successor with regard to the debt incurred by the need to finance the return of the Tatars and other peoples of Crimea. Or does it not, given that this year Russia ended its involvement in the aforementioned program?

[Yeltsin] I am ready to discuss these problems with the leaderships of Ukraine and the Crimea.

[Korotchenya] Thank you. Fourth microphone.

[Ivanov] Ivan Ivanov, TASS. Boris Nikolayevich, the fate of the reforms in Russia and apparently the fate of the future economic union and the movement of the CIS countries towards coordination in the economy directly depend on the political situation in Russia and the new Russian Constitution. In this connection, what is your opinion of the mechanism for adopting the new Russian Constitution?

[Yeltsin] I have already spoken about this, but I can say again what seems to me to be most important. We need a full-blooded constitution agreed upon by all the subjects of the federation so that each subject should initial this draft constitution, can you see? A constitutional conference will be convened to initial the draft constitution with representatives of all the subjects of the federation—two people from each subject of the federation, from the executive and legislative bodies, among others, at the federal level, of course. The constitutional conference will not end its session before it finalizes the draft constitution and all the subjects of the federation agree on it.

[Ivanov] And after that—a congress or a referendum?

[Yeltsin] After that, the constitutional conference will decide how to adopt the constitution. There are several options here.

[Korotchenya] Thank you, Boris Nikolayevich. We have five minutes left. Perhaps we can do it this way: one question from each microphone, and try to keep it short. We'll begin with number two. Go ahead.

[Unidentified correspondent] From Russian Television. About the treaty on collective security. What kind of military cooperation is envisaged? Will there be joint units or something else, Boris Nikolayevich?

[Korotchenya] You're asking Boris Nikolayevich?

[Unidentified correspondent] Whoever can answer. Was the matter discussed?

[Yeltsin] This wasn't on today's agenda. We have discussed it before, and as you know seven CIS states have signed the treaty. The rest still haven't, but the collective security approach is still under discussion—by them as well—and I think that several more states will sign up.

[Nazarbayev] I'd like to add that Air Force Marshal Shaposhnikov, the CIS commander in chief, today gave a report because we haven't made any decisions on collective security, that is, collective defense. The situation is that we're starting to work on this. A security council has to be set up, consisting of heads of state and government. There should be a civilian as secretary general to the council, and there should be a military man commanding the combined armed forces. We agreed today that we'll be examining the documentation on this on 12 July. It has to be examined quickly, and decisions have to be made and all the I's dotted so that a defense zone and collective security become reality.

[Korotchenya] Thank you. Microphone 4, please.

[Zaripov] Zaripov from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Nursultan Abishevich, you've said in two words that not all the states have joined the economic union. Can one now speak of the so-called center—in other words of the nucleus—of the CIS? And if such a nucleus exists, [words indistinct]? And a second, very brief, question, for you, Boris Nikolayevich: You [words indistinct]...

[Korotchenya, interrupting] Allow me, Boris Nikolayevich, to make a remark: We agreed on one question at a time.

[Unidentified correspondent] [words indistinct] Thank you.

[Nazarbayev] I spoke of this in my previous answer. Today there were 10—representatives of 10 states—present. Turkmenistan took time out, saying it had received the documents too late, and that it would study them and then decide about joining. All the rest, with or without qualification, signed the documents. I said again that in the course of the preparation of the actual treaty

on the economic union, which must not be dragged out... [changes thought] incidentally, we have now created, from among the deputy prime ministers, a body, a consultative and coordinating committee, which will prepare all 25 documents mentioned by Boris Nikolayevich. And in carrying out the recommendations, we will have to decide the issues within that union with those remaining in the normal ruble zone and who will undertake the obligation. Naturally, that will be one integration, and those who will have their own currency, that will naturally be a different integration. So those in the ruble zone will naturally have closer mutual relations among themselves. [indistinct exchange between unidentified speakers]

[Kravchuk] There is one thing, one circumstance: Today the discussion was not about the economic union, the document, or the treaty. What was being discussed was the preparation of such a document. So to say today that they have or have not joined the economic union is at least premature. They have joined in the sense of issuing instructions for it to be prepared; and when the document has been prepared, I think the procedure for signing it will be considered, as well as the question of its publicity and everything connected with that. And then when the document has been signed and ratified by the parliament of each of the states, then one will be able answer your question: whether they have joined or not. All that is happening now is preparatory work—no more and no less.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Word indistinct] television. I have a question, please. First, did your meeting today touch on the results of the Russian referendum? And second, you were talking of the need to coordinate foreign policy. Does this apply to resolving communal conflicts, such as in Karabakh or Yugoslavia? Thank you.

[Shushkevich] Can I answer? We didn't have any discussion today regarding communal conflicts, and we congratulated Boris Nikolayevich on winning the referendum.

[Korotchenya] Thank you. Go ahead, your question.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] a question for Boris Nikolayevich. What prospects do you see for development of relations between Russia and Tajikistan? And to the vice president of Kyrgyzstan ...

[Korotchenya] That's all, just the one.

[Yeltsin] There was an additional item added to the agenda, on urgent aid for Tajikistan because it's been hit by a natural disaster and suffered great material loss. Absolutely all the heads of state signed a decision on such urgent aid. The Russian Government will decide on similar aid tomorrow. Apart from that, I've decided that Russian and Tajikistan delegations should meet in Moscow and sign a full-scale treaty between the two countries on 25 May.

[Korotchenya] Thank you, Boris Nikolayevich. Final question, go ahead please.

[Unidentified correspondent] I have a question for the president of Russia. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich! Stories have surfaced in the Belarus media that Russia wants to make membership in an economic union conditional on signing the treaty on collective security. In brief, please, is this true or not?

[Yeltsin] You know, this issue was not discussed in much detail. As Leonid Makarovich said, we were only discussing preparations for this today. Conditions and documents will be drawn up by 1 July, and during the preparation period such issues as collective security and whether this should be a condition or not will probably be debated.

[Korotchenya] Thank you. Thank you to everyone for taking part in this news conference. Good-bye and see you again.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on CIS Leaders' Meeting

PM1705140993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 May 93 p 1

[Pavel Shinkarenko report: "CIS: Economic Union Is the Main Thing. New Steps Taken at Extraordinary Session of Heads of State Council in Moscow To Strengthen Commonwealth"]

[Text] "Economic union is the most important thing," Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev used these words to describe the purpose of the CIS leaders' latest meeting. However, he stressed that he had come to Moscow "with the Supreme Soviet's support on all matters." Belarusian parliament chairman Stanislav Shushkevich also came with the same idea. According to him, Belarus is interested in signing an economic treaty with as many states as possible. "We must first conclude such an alliance with Russia since that is exceptionally important for us," he added.

However, by no means all the leaders of the young independent states share that idea. In the opinion of Turkmenistan's president, it is premature to set up that kind of an alliance. "Conceptually we are not ready for it," Saparmurad Niyazov believes. Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk also had doubts as to the advisability of discussing this plan on precisely that day: An extremely complex session of the parliament is scheduled for 18 May in Kiev.

These two standpoints were indeed the basis for the summit-level discussion first in the Grand Kremlin Palace and then with enlarged membership in the President Hotel. Boris Yeltsin presided over both meetings.

The upshot was that steps to create an economic alliance and form a Coordinating Consultative Committee were examined, and a program to draft a set of documents on

further strengthening the CIS was agreed. Russia's proposals formed the basis of the concept for deepening the integration of interested countries. They envisage forming a customs union and coordinating financial, credit and monetary, and currency policy. A top priority should be for other Commonwealth states to settle their debts to Russia. In the opinion of Russian experts, this will happen by transferring the technical credits shortfall to an interstate debt with world-recognized repayment terms. Agreement was also reached on new rules for issuing credit in the future.

Shaposhnikov: Collective Security Not Aimed at Others

LD1705121493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1117 GMT 17 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—The CIS collective security system is not a military-political bloc aimed against any other state or a group of states, according to CIS Commander-in-Chief Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

None of the countries-signatories of the treaty on collective security reject the necessity of creating a system of collective security. Russia and Uzbekistan, however, have their own approaches to the issue, he told a press conference on Monday.

The latest CIS summit in Moscow instructed the Council of CIS Defence Ministers and the Main Command to work out and submit to the next summit in Yerevan on July 16 the drafts of the basic directions in coordinating joint activities of CIS states in defence sphere, in creating the system of collective security and strengthening military cooperation among them, including issues of improving the Command of the Unified Armed Forces, the treaty on the creation of the Unified CIS Armed Forces and other documents.

Shaposhnikov said that all heads of state share his concern about the state of defence and are in this or that degree adherent to the collective security treaty.

The collective security system with its peace-keeping forces is a precondition for averting and timely resolving interethnic conflicts within the Commonwealth and for a repulsion of any outside aggression. Shaposhnikov added that the CIS Main Command asked heads of state to cancel those legislative provisions which impede the creation of the system.

He also believes that the defence doctrine designed by the Main Command of the Commonwealth can be used as the basis for national doctrines. There is no need to adopt other military doctrines, he said.

Shaposhnikov added that he plans to attend the CIS interparliamentary assembly in St. Petersburg, meet presidents of all CIS states who signed the collective security treaty and discuss ways to implement it.

Tajik Defense Minister Foresees No Major Opposition Offensive

LD1405092593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0912 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—"The commanders of insurgent units, deployed in Afghanistan, know that Tajikistan has signed CIS the collective security treaty [as received] and that its other members will not stand by, if our territory is invaded," Tajik Defence Minister Aleksandr Shishlyannikov told ITAR-TASS in an exclusive interview. The general attended the meeting of the CIS Defence Ministers Council, which was held in Moscow on May 13.

This 42-year-old officer, who was recently promoted to the rank of major-general, enjoys the Tajik leadership's complete trust. He believes that the Tajik opposition will not launch a large-scale offensive on Dushanbe. At the same time, he thinks its militants may, as before, try to infiltrate the territory of Tajikistan by small groups in order to set up military bases for further hostilities.

Do the government troops have enough forces to control the situation in the republic? Replying to this question, the general stressed: "I cannot say that the Armed Forces of Tajikistan are fully prepared to cope with this task, although the already set up units are able to reliably defend the main strategic and operational areas." The general also noted that the dispatch of peace-keeping troops to Tajikistan, a decision on which was adopted by several CIS states, would tangibly stabilise in many ways the military-political situation in the republic.

Belarus' Dashuk Appointed CIS Economic Court Chairman

LD1405181593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1540 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—Leonid Dashuk, Belarusian justice minister, was appointed chairman of the CIS Economic Court by heads of state of the Commonwealth on Friday, the press service of the Russian president said.

Dashuk was born in 1938 in Minsk region and is an ethnic Belarusian. In 1964 he graduated from the law faculty of the Belarusian State University, worked as an investigator in Minsk region, was elected as a judge. From 1976 to 1990 was member of the Belarusian Supreme Court.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes U.S. Statement on SDI

LD1605124893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1200 GMT 16 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 16 May (ITAR-TASS)—In connection with the statement by U.S. Secretary of Defense L. Aspin on 13 May on the question of the future of the SDI program, a spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry issued a statement today.

It says: "We perceive this statement as a step in the right direction, testifying to a positive evolution of the American approach to questions of maintaining and strengthening strategic stability. In particular, one cannot fail to welcome the U.S.' tactical rejection of the more destabilizing element of the odious 'Star Wars' program—offensive space armaments. The irrational nature of maintaining this program has become particularly evident in light of the conclusion of the START II Treaty, which essentially removes the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict between the United States and Russia. There is also no doubt that this step by America is a specific expression of the Russian-American relationship as partners, one which has had a powerful boost as a result of the recent summit meeting in Vancouver.

"I would also like, in this connection, to reaffirm our unaltered commitment to the ABM Treaty of 1972," the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman stated.

U.S. Expert Says Arms Trade Could Hurt Ties

LD1405212793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 14 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The interests of the United States and Russia will clash on arms markets in third countries in the near future, and this may become an alarming factor in relations between these two countries. This was stated at a briefing in Moscow by Henri Pierre, a U.S. expert on matters relating to the arms trade from the Carnegie Foundation. However, according to the expert, this problem can be settled. The market will remain free to Russia in those countries where the United States does not sell its arms, that is Iran, China, and North Korea.

Kozyrev Notes 'Unprecedented' Consensus on Vance-Owen Plan

LD1605155493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 16 May 93

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting took place today in Moscow between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and co-chairmen of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg. Our observer Viktor Levin reports:

[Levin] The Russian minister summed up the results of today's meeting. He said:

[begin Kozyrev recording] I think the main result of today's conversation is that our thoughts are going in one and the same direction; in particular, no matter how the so-called referendum of the Bosnian Serbs ends, in all cases an unprecedented international consensus exists in favor of the Vance-Owen plan. It has been approved by the presidents of all the republics including Serbia, Montenegro, Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia. The task now is to begin progressive implementation of the plan for a peaceful settlement known as the Vance-Owen plan, without paying any attention to those forces that are interested in war, no matter by whom they are represented and what forms—pseudo-referendums and so on—they seek in order to express their obstructive positions. We will work in this direction in a coordinated manner so that the Security Council can adopt the relevant decision by the end of next week. [end recording]

[Levin] Replying to journalists' questions, Kozyrev said that progressive implementation of the plan means, in particular, deploying observers along the Bosnia-Herzegovina borders and also along its internal demarcation lines.

In this connection, Stoltenberg noted that it is necessary to increase the numbers of blue helmets. Kozyrev said that Russia would not stand in the way of this.

In his turn, Lord Owen said: We are striving to ensure that the representation of the UN peace-keeping forces is balanced and that the numbers from the United States, Canada, West Europe, and East Europe are equal.

But what should be done about the Bosnian Serbs who reject the Vance-Owen Plan, journalists asked.

Kozyrev noted: We cannot wait until the last fighter agrees to peace. It is an open secret that there are people who are interested in continuing the war. We should not be under their thumb.

At the end of next week, Russia intends to promote in the Security Council the adoption of fundamentally new resolutions which embody the ideas which were expressed, judging by what the minister said.

I would like to draw particular attention to the fact that not only Kozyrev but also Owen and Stoltenberg stressed that agreement on the Vance-Owen plan by the presidents of Yugoslavia, Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina opens up real prospects for peace in that unfortunate country.

[Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1445 GMT on 16 May adds that later today Owen and Stoltenberg left Moscow by plane to continue their shuttle diplomacy.]

Seeks 'Progressive Implementation'

LD1605135693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1240 GMT 16 May 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 16 May—To set out on the "progressive fulfillment" of the Vance-Owen plan for a settlement to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia is the primary task of the world community at the present stage. This was stated by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, speaking to journalists today at the end of his talks with Lord David Owen and Turvald Stoltenberger, the co-chairmen of the coordinating committee of the UN World Conference on the former Yugoslavia. They arrived in Moscow yesterday, continuing, as the Russian minister put it, "the historic mission to seek ways for a peaceful settlement to the Yugoslav drama." This mission, Andrey Kozyrev believes, "should yield its historic fruits in the very near future."

The main result of the efforts made in this area until now, the head of Russia's foreign affairs department thinks, is the attainment of international agreement on this plan. This was reflected in particular in its approval by the presidents of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro. "That is why," Andrey Kozyrev stressed, "it is now essential, disregarding the obstructionist position of those forces interested in war, to begin strict implementation of the provisions of the Vance-Owen plan." He expressed the conviction that, thanks to the efforts of all interested parties, the Security Council would at the end of the week be able to adopt a resolution approving the Vance-Owen plan.

Andrey Kozyrev noted that the Russian president has instructed the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry to "work toward extinguishing the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina," and the Russian side intends to make its contribution to a "progressive implementation of the plan" for a settlement in the region, which the minister defined as a zone of particular responsibility and historic ties for Russia. He said that it is not now a question of a new Russian plan, but only of a new approach by the Russian side to implementation of the Vance-Owen plan.

Lord Owen, for his part, stressed that Russia had provided, and was continuing to provide, extremely important and effective assistance in the search for a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. "It is no exaggeration," he commented, "to say that the present progress in settling the conflict would not have been achieved without Russia's help." Stoltenberg noted that "it would be extremely dangerous today to speak of any changes to the Vance-Owen plan, which has been approved by broad international circles and by a significant majority of the states of the former Yugoslavia."

New Russian Initiatives Planned

MK1505115093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 15 May 93 p 10

[Viktor Zamyatin report published in the "Briefing in the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry" column: "Moscow Does Not Overestimate the Importance of the Referendum in Bosnia"]

[Text] Yesterday Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry [MFA] Press and Information Department, held a routine briefing. Again, substantial attention was given to the problem of a settlement in Bosnia and Croatia. Judging by the statement of the MFA spokesman, in the near term Russia may come out with new initiatives in this field.

On Russia's participation in UN peacekeeping actions

The MFA representative returned to the 6 May joint session of the Russian Defense Ministry and MFA collegium. It was noted there that Russia's participation in UN peacekeeping operations, including in the republics of former Yugoslavia, has brought positive results. Nonetheless, up to now the status of peacekeeping forces has not been formalized in the concepts of Russia's foreign policy and defense. Russia's involvement in the implementation of the Vance- Owen plan for Bosnia would, according to Yastrzhembskiy, be "a natural continuation" of diplomatic efforts and the already existing peacekeeping mission of the Russian troops in the Balkans. The question of sending a new contingent of Russian troops to Bosnia, however, would need to be authorized by the Supreme Soviet.

On lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia

Russia is categorically against such a step.

On the referendum in Bosnia

Moscow does not overestimate its importance. Nonetheless, the MFA believes that there are hopes for reaching a settlement in that republic.

On Russia's initiatives

According to Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, Russia has "some ready initiatives" which, however, it is premature to make public yet. Hopes are being pinned on the success of the latest visit to Zagreb by the Russian president's special envoy Vitaliy Churkin, on whose initiative delegations from Croatia and the Knin Krajina agreed to meet, with the participation of the Russian ambassador to Croatia. Russia is also counting on the positive role of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's leadership, which announced the cessation of any support for the Bosnian Serbs.

Churkin, Milosevic Talk on Phone

LD1505131393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1208 GMT 15 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Yegor Shubin]

[Text] Moscow, 15 May—A telephone conversation took place today between Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian president's special envoy, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The participants in the conversation exchanged views on the prospects for a peaceful settlement in the former Yugoslavia and on the state of relations between Zagreb and the Serbs in Krajina.

Churkin told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the Russian side had presented a positive assessment of the declaration on a peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina that was adopted yesterday at a joint session of the deputies of the parliaments of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro.

The Russian president's special envoy also expressed the hope that "the Bosnian Serbs will consider the document's provisions in the most serious way."

Churkin Brokers Croat-Serb Talks

LD1405131293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1239 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Vienna May 14 TASS—Representative delegations from Zagreb and Krajina Serb [Republic of Serbian Krajina - RSK] will meet next Tuesday in the settlement of Topusko to discuss practical issues of improving life of the people in the region, the Russian embassy in Zagreb said in a statement quoting an agreement reached by special Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin with President of Croatia Franjo Tudjman on Thursday.

The Russian ambassador in Croatia will attend the meeting to render the necessary assistance, it added.

The agreement was reached by Churkin after negotiations with the command of the southern sector of UN peace-keeping forces, as well as with the leadership of Krajina Serb in Knin, according to the statement.

TV Commentator Views Referendum

LD1605110793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 16 May 93

[Commentary by F. Tavrovskiy; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday was the first day of a referendum on the Vance-Owen plan for a peaceful settlement in the Serb-populated areas in Bosnia. Let me remind you that the plan provides for dividing the republic into 10 autonomous ethnic regions. Resulting from this redrawing of the map, Bosnian Serbs will find themselves in the most disadvantaged situation, because they will have to leave a large part of their historical lands. It is not therefore surprising that most forecasts predict a strong Serbian rejection of the Vance-Owen plan. Even Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Serbs, who was forced to put his signature to the plan in Athens under severe pressure from the United States and its allies, believes that the proposed concept of territorial re-division is flawed and can only exacerbate the conflict situation.

Radovan Karadzic stated, incidentally, that should the the referendum reject the Vance-Owen plan, he would ask former Russian Federation President Mikhail Gorbachev to draw up a new plan for a peaceful settlement. Gorbachev's spokesman made no comment regarding this statement. [Video shows footage of people casting votes, Radovan Karadzic, captioned in English as Bosnian Serb leader, being interviewed.]

PRAVDA Urges Veto of UN Operations

PM1405133593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 93 p 3

[Yuriy Glukhov report: "Cheeseparing..."]

[Text] Russia recently amazed the world by using its veto at the UN Security Council. It was amazing because everyone had gotten used to Moscow obediently keeping in step with the United States and its NATO allies. Then suddenly this change. The resolution on the financing of the UN forces on Cyprus was blocked with the help of the Russian veto.

The logic behind this step is understandable. The economy and finances of Russia itself are in a lamentable condition.

Russia is already in debt to the United Nations. In October 1992 it paid $18 million to the regular budget and another $25 million in December plus $25 million for UN peacekeeping operations. In February 1993 Moscow contributed a total of $47 million to UN funds. But even all these payments only managed to clear the debt for 1991 and part of the debt for 1992!

We can only speculate as to why Kozyrev's diplomacy decided to save money on Cyprus in particular, where peacekeeping expenditure is minimal and the effectiveness of the peacekeeping mission is beyond dispute. After all, if we are talking about savings, the most expensive UN operations have been those organized last year in the former Yugoslavia and Cambodia. In early 1993 debts on these operations stood at $600 million, and had risen to $1.5 billion by May. Implementation of the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia, which envisages sending a 70,000-strong international contingent there, would cost a huge amount of money. (As a comparison, the peacekeeping operation on Cyprus costs $45 million a year, of which half is paid for by the Cypriots themselves.)

So why doesn't Russia begin with radical measures—blocking operations in Yugoslavia?

The cost of Russia's planned participation in them, both politically and economically, is obvious. Getting drawn into suppressing our traditional allies—the Serbs—is an unenviable prospect. It would be even stupider to pay for this venture.

As for Cyprus, it is just cheeseparing, as they say. Although it could turn out to be a false economy for Russia, which could lose an ally and wreck the fragile peace on that unhappy isle, where the "blue helmets" are scheduled to remain until 15 June.

Yeltsin, Shevardnadze Agree to 20 May Cease-Fire

LD1405120493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze met today and agreed on a cease-fire between the Georgian and Abkhazian formations in the conflict zone to begin on 20 May. The warring sides will start the withdrawal of heavy fighting equipment and artillery on the same date.

Eduard Shevardnadze said this in an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent at the end of the talks. He also said that on 25 May, Russian, Georgian, and Abkhazian military aircraft and helicopters will stop flying over the conflict zone.

The heads of the two states agreed at the meeting to set up a body of their own representatives in the region. In the words of Eduard Shevardnadze, the talks with Boris Yeltsin went better than could have been expected. He stressed that an extensive Georgian-Russian agreement will be signed in June.

For his part, Tengiz Sigua, the Georgian prime minister, said that his talks today with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin practically removed all obstacles existing between the two countries in the economic sphere.

Joint Communique Issued

LD1405142793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1345 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 14 May (ITAR-TASS)—Today the Russian Federation president's press service circulated the text of the communique adopted on the results of the working meeting in Moscow today between Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin and E.A. Shevardnadze, head of state and chairman of the parliament of the Republic of Georgia.

Communique on the meeting between B.N. Yeltsin and E.A. Shevardnadze [subhead]

In accordance with a prior agreement, a working meeting between Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin and E.A. Shevardnadze, head of state and chairman of the parliament of the Republic of Georgia, took place in Moscow on 14 May 1993.

The leaders of two states discussed the entire range of Russian-Georgian relations and confirmed their resolute intention to strive to improve them on the basis of mutual respect for state sovereignty and independence and the principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of borders.

B.N. Yeltsin and E.A. Shevardnadze confirmed the need to urgently complete the preparations of agreements creating a legal and treaty basis of bilateral cooperation, including a comprehensive treaty defining interstate relations between Russia and Georgia. The sides will strive to sign it as soon as possible. In favorable conditions, meaning specifically if the Abkhazian settlement proceeds successfully, the signing could take place in the near future, possibly in June.

The discussions centered on questions of a settlement to the armed conflict in Abkhazia. The participants in the meeting were unanimous that it should be resolved by political means. The sides agreed that provision would be made for the necessary accords on the coming into force from 20 May of this year of a cease-fire in Abkhazia, bearing in mind that all the formations involved in the conflict will cease the combat use of aviation and artillery and will carry out in due course the withdrawal of heavy military equipment from the conflict zone. The sides agreed to accelerate the preparation of documents for a further summit meeting in Abkhazia in line with the Moscow Final Document of 3 September 1992.

The need to embark on a full-scale settlement of the Georgian-Ossetian conflict was also noted.

The two heads of state agreed to appoint their own personal plenipotentiary representatives for the purpose of coordinating actions on a settlement to the conflicts.

Participants in the meeting spoke in favor of a more active role for the United Nations and CSCE in seeking a peaceful solution of the conflict.

Great attention was paid to questions of the temporary deployment of the Russian military formations and border troops on the territory of the Republic of Georgia, their legal status, the living conditions and security of servicemen and their families, as well as security of the civilian population in the Republic.

The participants in the meeting are convinced that normalization of relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Georgia, including their trade and economic ties, will have a beneficial effect on strengthening stability and peace in the Caucasus and beyond.

Shevardnadze 'Fully Satisfied'

LD1405125493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1200 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow, 14 May—Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the Georgian state and chairman of the Georgian Parliament, said he is fully satisfied with the results of the working consultative meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, which ended in Moscow today.

The Georgian leader stressed at a news conference here that it was agreed in principle to normalize bilateral relations on the basis of a comprehensive treaty between the two states that "is most likely to be signed by mid-June." Answering a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent as to what precisely the Russian leadership should do to improve relations between the two countries, Eduard Shevardnadze noted that "Russia should take some practical steps toward a cease-fire in Abkhazia because Russia has real power and influence to establish peace in the region."

'Great Difficulty' in Lithuanian Troop Withdrawal Talks

LD1705101793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 17 May 93

[Text] Viktor Isakov, head of the Russian delegation at talks with Lithuania, said in an interview with an RIA correspondent that the sides have had great difficulty reaching agreement on the withdrawal of Russian troops. The next round of talks will be held in Vilnius on 18-19 May.

It should be pointed out that the Lithuanian delegation is laying particular emphasis on observing the schedule for the withdawal that was signed with Russia, whereby the troops would leave Lithuania by 31 August this year.

As the head of the Russian delegation stressed, the schedule provides for an agreement determining the status of the troops during the period of the withdrawal, and social guarantees for Russian servicemen. According to Isakov, the subject of such an agreement would be the main one for Russia at the coming talks.

West 'Closing Its Eyes' to Baltic Human Rights Problem

PM1405141993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 93 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy article: "Demarche, Albeit Somewhat Belated"]

[Text] The everyday saying "better late than never" does not always work in politics—like history, it does not admit the conditional. That is why there is no point now in saying that our diplomats should have been more steadfast in upholding the interests of Russia and Russian people in the Baltic states when the latter seceded from what was then the USSR and later when recognizing their sovereignty. Evidently, overly carried away by their newly acquired independence and autonomy, state structures in the new Russia initially forgot about those people who had since time immemorial been considered "cogs," small grains of sand among the hundreds of millions making up the Soviet people and on whose behalf the state apparatus operated.

But as we enter and put down roots in the democratic civilized community we are increasingly learning to value every individual and focusing our attention more and more persistently on compatriots who have found themselves isolated not only from their "small" but also from their real, "big" homeland. That is why the fate of 25 million compatriots, who have at a stroke of the pen found themselves, often against their will, either immigrants, migrants, or (how utterly offensive!) expatriates, is bound to concern Russia.

To repair the omission, the Russian Foreign Ministry has recently been actively campaigning to recognize the rights of national, ethnic, and other minorities—not only the [ethnic] Russians, but also other people whose mother tongue is Russian. Diplomats are taking steps within the United Nations, the CSCE, and other international forums. A decisive demarche was taken in connection with the consideration of the question of Estonia's admission to the Council of Europe 13 September at the parliamentary assembly in Strasbourg. Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev refused to attend the session (Russia has special invitee status there). The reason was the discrimination practiced in Estonia against the nonindigenous population.

Incidentally, the same thing was acknowledged a week ago—but in a "mild" form—by the foreign ministers of the North European states. In a communique on the results of their meeting they "expressed hope that Estonia and Latvia would heed the recommendations made by missions of international experts with a view to eliminating certain grounds for complaint by the Russian-speaking population and reduce to a minimum the danger of difficulties in relations between various population groups." If you unravel the diplomatic rhetoric it is clear that the rights of minorities in these republics are being violated and democratic civilized Europe is closing its eyes to that fact, making do with "expressing hope."

However, there is an example of a similar problem being resolved successfully in the Baltics. Russia is starting to resolve various problems with Lithuania, many of which could have ended in conflict had the sides not shown an amicable, constructive attitude. The Russian troop withdrawal from Lithuania is proceeding successfully—with help from this state in building housing for the troops being withdrawn. But at the moment there are no signs of a solution to the situation among Lithuania's northern neighbors.

Further Objections to Council of Europe Decision Raised

LD1405190193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The issue of Russian communities in former Soviet countries is becoming increasingly more acute, in particular with respect to Latvia and Estonia. Correspondent Abdullakh Mikitayev reports from the Europarliament.

[Video shows ceremonial signing of documents in presence of applauding crowd; captioned video review by Yevgeniy Blokhin.]

[Blokhin] In Strasbourg today, Lithuania, Slovenia, and Estonia officially became members of the Council of Europe despite Russian protests against the admission of Estonia. Russian officials believe that it was premature to admit Estonia given that country's discrimination against its Russian-speaking community.

[Video shows interviewer in office, captioned A Mikitayev, chairman of the Russian President's commission on issues of citizenship.]

[Begin Mikitayev recording] My impression is that Scandinavian and European countries in the Council of Europe are in something of a dilemma regarding the Baltic states. On the one hand they're doing everything possible to expedite these states' admission to the European community and in this respect help them economically and politically. But on the other hand they can't pass over the glaring violations of national minorities' rights—which for us means the Russian community—in Estonia and Latvia. These countries can now count on unconditional support from Western countries and the member-countries of the Council of Europe. In this connection I'd like to point out in particular that, in my opinion, in Estonia and Latvia, policies based on discrimination cannot continue. The Western countries and no civilized country in the world can ignore the fact that in Estonia, for example, in which 40 percent of the population is non-Estonian, not a single non-Estonian has been elected to parliament. A mono-national parliament has been set up there.

I'd like to point out that I have the firm impression that the West is beginning to much more clearly understand the approach, the civilized approach, that Russia is taking toward problems arising with these new states and that it is applying democratic, civilized, international practices. In this respect the work currently being done by both the President and the foreign-affairs ministry should be increased. [end recording]

Estonian Cyclists Stopped at Russian Border

LD1505134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1215 GMT 15 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Vlasov]

[Text] Pechory (Pskov Oblast), 15 May—After setting off this afternoon from the Estonian town of Vymarska—which is three kms from the Russian-Estonian border—about 2,000 cyclists split into groups and tried to make their way to the Russian side in several places. Frontier and militia detachments stopped them.

About 200 young Estonians, without visas or documents, demanded to be allowed through the crossing-point to the ancient Russian town of Pechory.

Those taking part in the cycle race began to leave the border area later in the afternoon.

Cyclists Termed 'Provocative'

LD1505101893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] The Russian Foreign Ministry has issued a statement in connection with the situation that has developed on the Russian-Estonian border.

As has been reported, on Friday [14 May], a large group of young citizens of the Estonian republic tried to organize a cycle race under provocative political slogans and cross the Estonian-Russian border without having either entry visas or appropriate permission from Russian bodies.

As local authorities see it, the action did, in effect, imply territorial claims on Russia. In this connection, the Russian Foreign Ministry declared that, on the Russian side, all necessary measures would be taken to see that the organizers of this illegal and provocative action did not attain their objectives.

The Russian Foreign Ministry also urged Estonian authorities to take prompt action to head off a conflict situation on the Estonian- Russian border.

Government Raises Cost of Estonian Visa

PM1705094993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 93 p 1

[Sergey Sergeyev report: "Entry Visas to Russia Introduced for Estonian Passport Holders"]

[Text] Russians pay $12 for a visa to enter Estonia. Henceforth trips to Russia will also cost citizens of the Republic of Estonia $12. That is what they will have to pay for a visa and its paperwork.

The visa system introduced by Russia extends only to Estonian passport holders. As for holders of former

Union passports living in Estonia, entry to Russia for them remains free until these passports expire 6 February 1995.

Map of Baltic CW Disposal Sites Forthcoming

LD1405203393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 14 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russia and other Baltic Sea countries intend to compile a map of sites where chemical weapons have been buried in the Baltic Sea in the period since World War II. Experts report that an assessment will be also be made of possible damage to the environment. A special group of experts has already been set up which will carry out this work.

Yeltsin, Moldova's Snegur Meet, Issue Communique

LD1505095293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0844 GMT 15 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow, 15 May—The following is the text of the official communique on the meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur:

"The president of the Russian Federation and the president of the Republic of Moldova held, by mutual arrangement, a meeting in Moscow on 15 May 1993, during which they analyzed the progress made on implementing the agreement dated 21 July 1992 on the principles for a peaceful settlement of the armed conflict in the Dniester region of the Republic of Moldova.

"The sides gave a high assessment of the activity in the security zone of the peacekeeping forces of Russia, the Republic of Moldova, and the Dniester region created to separate the sides in the conflict.

"The president of the Russian Federation expressed satisfaction that the sides in the conflict had agreed on the text of a document on the basic principles for settling the sociopolitical conflict in the Dniester region, which lays the legal foundation for a clear division of the sides' jurisdictions and areas of responsibility, while determining the region's special status within the Republic of Moldova. He also called for it to be signed as soon as possible.

"Boris Yeltsin and Mircea Snegur stated that the negotiations on the preparation of an agreement on the status of the Russian Federation military formations temporarily located in the territory of the Republic of Moldova and on the procedure and time frame for their withdrawal are being conducted in a constructive spirit. The presidents confirmed their common position shared with the leadership of the Dniester region that the time frame for the withdrawal of the Russian forces will be synchronized with a political settlement of the conflict and the determination of a special status for the Dniester region of the Republic of Moldova.

"The Russian and Moldovan presidents once again call on the relevant local authorities in the conflict zone to show leniency to those arrested during the tragic events last summer and to transfer the hearing of their cases to the Supreme Court of the Republic of Moldova.

"The presidents confirmed their desire to broaden Russian-Moldovan interstate relations on the basis of the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries and to strictly comply with human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities.

"Wishing to strengthen political, trade, economic, and cultural links between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova, the presidents agreed on closer interaction within the CIS framework.

"The presidents welcomed the formation of parliamentary friendship groups and their intention to cooperate in creating the preparatory conditions for the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's ratification of the treaty on the principles of interstate relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova, which was signed on 22 September 1990."

Snegur Comments on Meeting

LD1505091493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] We have just received a report from ITAR-TASS that the Russian-Moldovan meeting has ended.

The main topic of today's meeting in the Kremlin between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Moldovan President Mircha Snegur was the speeding up of a political settlement of the consequences of the armed conflict in the Dniester region.

In a conversation with journalists at the end of the meeting, Snegur noted that the attitude of all the sides involved in the conflict has changed in the year that has elapsed since the signing of the relevant agreement between Russia and Moldova. A meeting was recently held between Moldovan leaders and Tiraspol leaders. We are drawing close to a sensible solution of this issue without the use of force, based on the main idea of preserving the integrity and indivisibility of the Republic of Moldova, the president said. Russia's view was of quite some interest to us in this respect.

The leaders of Russia and Moldova reaffirmed that the 14th Army—which is stationed on Moldovan territory—will be withdrawn. According to Snegur, its withdrawal will be synchronized with a solution to the issue of a special legal status for the Dniester region.

Snegur emphasized the exceptional importance of yesterday's meeting in Moscow of the council of CIS heads of state. During the course of their meeting, the Russian

and Moldovan presidents also discussed bilateral economic relations, progress in the fulfillment of previously signed agreements, and the preparation of documents to be signed by the heads of government in Moscow next week. Snegur said that Moldovan-Russian relations are improving.

Yeltsin Receives New Moldovan Ambassador

AU1505175693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2005 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] Moscow BASAPRESS, 14/5/1993—The fact that relations between Russia and Moldova are constantly improving is very promising, declared Russian President Boris Yeltsin during a ceremony devoted to accreditation of the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Moldova to Moscow, Anatol Taran, which was organized yesterday in the Kremlin.

The president of the Russian Federation specified that he supports personal relations with President Mircea Snegur and that he will be happy to meet with Snegur during the common meeting of the heads of the CIS member states.

Black Sea Fleet Officers Seek Yeltsin-Kravchuk Meeting

PM1405133993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin report: "Black Sea Fleet Officers Ask Russian and Ukrainian Presidents To Meet in Sevastopol"]

[Text] Black Sea Fleet officers have asked the Russian and Ukrainian presidents to meet in Sevastopol. The meeting was proposed in a statement adopted at a meeting of officers from a combined unit of Black Sea Fleet surface ships. According to the Yalta agreements, the two heads of state should have signed documents defining the status of the Black Sea Fleet by 1 October last year. However, that did not happen.

The presidents should meet in Sevastopol to resolve the problems of the Black Sea Fleet. The seamen also propose speeding the resolution of the questions of introducing dual citizenship on Crimean territory and the status of Black Sea Fleet servicemen.

Grachev Ends Visit to Turkey

LD1405203293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2000 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Feoktistov]

[Text] Ankara May 14 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev ended an official visit to Turkey. The Russian delegation left for Moscow on Friday. Pavel Grachev was on an official visit to Turkey at the invitation of Turkish Defence Minister Nevzat Ayaz.

During the visit the Russian defence minister held talks with his Turkish counterpart. He was received by the Acting President of the Turkish Republic and Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel. The two sides discussed the state of bilateral relations, the situation in hot beds of tension of the region. Despite the divergence in views on some problems linked with the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two sides agreed that the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan should be settled by peaceful means in the framework of CSCE. The Russian and Turkish defence ministers signed a memorandum on mutual understanding which implies the development of bilateral cooperation in the sphere of military training and defence industry. The two sides noted that such contacts are very useful. Pavel Grachev invited Nevzat Ayaz to visit Russia.

The Russian delegation visited a number of military and defence enterprises. The Turkish leadership showed interest in purchase of Russian armament. The Russian defence minister visited the Third Army stationed in eastern Anatolia and Istanbul.

Turkey's Role in Karabakh Issue Examined

PM1405160993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 93 p 3

[Dr. of Historical Sciences Vladimir Danilov article: "Karabakh's Turkish Vector. It Is Doomed To Grow, for Moscow 'Washes Its Hands'"—first paragraph is ITAR-TASS report; last paragraph is editorial afterword]

[Text] Instead of a foreword. (ITAR-TASS), 13 May—Russian Defense Minister P. Grachev, answering journalists' questions while on an official visit to Turkey, said that Russian troops are definitely not participating in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. He pointed out that just one Russian airborne division is left in Azerbaijan, and it will be withdrawn from there this year. Russia's military doctrine, the minister emphasized, is defensive.

Despite all of Turkey's respect for its great northern neighbor and the good relations with Moscow which have evolved over recent decades, the actual course of the destructive processes in the former USSR has faced it with the need to react to these events.

Naturally, Turkish interests have been manifested chiefly in the Transcaucasus and in Central Asia. In the first case attention has been focused on Azerbaijan, where the population has traditionally taken an interest in the life of Turkey and in its culture and history.

Back at the end of 1991 the Turkish Government was the first to officially recognize independent Azerbaijan, and there then followed reciprocal visits by the two countries' leaders, during which ways to expand cooperation were outlined. In particular, Turkey granted credit of $150 million. At the sixth session of heads of state of the Islamic Conference Organization member states in

Dakar, Ankara actively supported the idea of receiving Azerbaijan into the Islamic Conference Organization. Thus, it was the first of the Soviet Muslim republics to become a full member of this powerful organization. Soon after, Azerbaijan also joined the Economic Cooperation Organization (set up by Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey).

While devoting special attention to Baku, Turkey did not forget the other Transcaucasian republics. The new situation led to substantial changes in its relations with its historical enemy—Armenia. Observers pointed out in this regard that there was also interest in rapprochement in Yerevan. The territorial disputes with Georgia and particularly with Azerbaijan, as well as its serious economic difficulties, prompted Armenia to arrange and develop cooperation with its southern neighbor—Turkey. Armenia's leaders even made it clear that they would not harp upon the subject of the long-standing accusations of Turkish genocide against Armenians. All this stimulated the development of economic ties: Talks began on reviving border trade and restoring railroad communications.

But these prospects were clouded by the intensified conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. During the initial stages, official Ankara, despite the sympathies of a considerable section of the Turkish public for Azerbaijan, took an impartial stand, emphasizing that this was an internal matter for the USSR. But the situation began to change as the Union broke up. As early as the end of 1991, according to Western press reports, Armenian President L. Ter-Petrosyan had asked Turkey to act as an intermediary in settling the conflict with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. This question also began to be discussed with Baku, with the result that Turkey agreed to this role in January 1992. Thus, the destructive processes within the USSR resulted in the southward shift of the center for resolving a problem which was the natural prerogative of the two sides in the conflict and of Moscow.

Turkey, however, found itself in a delicate position, for Azerbaijan is undoubtedly far closer to it. Back at the end of 1991 the chief of the Turkish Army General Staff was discussing questions of military aid and, according to a report in the influential Turkish newspaper HURRIYET, an accord was reached on the training of officers and technical personnel for the Azerbaijani army. In June 1992 THE NEW YORK TIMES reported that there were Turkish military advisers in Azerbaijan. It can be assumed that the exacerbation of the conflict gives rise to Baku's desperate need to develop a "special relationship" with Turkey in the hope of obtaining Turkish assistance, including military assistance. What kind of intermediary role is this!

And yet Ankara is behaving with restraint. There are reasons for this. The military-political alliance with the United States and the policy of full integration with the EC remain the basis and the linchpin of its foreign policy. Therefore it is fulfilling and will fulfill the intermediary mission over Nagorno-Karabakh with due regard for the West's recommendations. But the West will never permit Turkey's one-sided, resolute support for Azerbaijan. As we see, the resolution of the conflict has shifted not only to the south but also to the west. This is confirmed, in particular, by the fact that the question of the conflict and ways out of it was examined in Moscow on 29-30 April at a confidential meeting of representatives of the United States, Turkey, and Russia.

The Turkish newspaper TURKISH DAILY NEWS describes the Turkish Government's dilemma like this: On the one hand, Ter-Petrosyan asked for Armenia to be given help with grain and electricity, and the West is increasingly pressuring Turkey to do this. The French foreign minister sent his Turkish colleague a letter asking him to respond to Armenia's needs (let us not forget how influential the Armenian diaspora is in France—V.D.). Turkey promised Armenia 100,000 tonnes of wheat and has already sent the first consignment. On the other hand, the newspaper points out, Azerbaijan and broad circles of the Turkish public are opposed to giving such assistance until Yerevan makes peace with Baku. Last November an agreement was reached on supplies of electricity to Armenia, but it was suspended because of the sharply negative reaction of the public and the political opposition in Turkey.

No, there is no unanimity on a number of questions in Turkey. Opinions also differ over joint actions with the West in this area. I.S. Caglayangil, former foreign minister and president of the Senate, declared that Turkey's policy in the region must be not pro-American but pro-Turkish. N. Erbakan, leader of the pro-Islamic Welfare Party, which has approximately 60 seats (out of 450) in the Grand National Assembly, says that America is seeking to subordinate the whole world to itself, and Zionism is directing the Washington leadership, and so, if the United States intends to take control of the Muslim republics of the USSR, then Turkey's leaders merely become its intermediaries in this matter.

At the same time certain parties in the Grand National Assembly demanded Turkey's speediest military intervention in the conflict. For a while such a demand was even supported by the main opposition force—the Motherland Party and its former leader, T. Ozal, the late president of the republic.

The government found itself between the devil and the deep blue sea—the West, which was insistently advising moderation, and the opposition within the country, which was demanding decisive action. Prime Minister S. Demirel reported that the question of Turkish military intervention was not yet on the agenda, since "the world public does not support this." At the same time the Turkish leaders declared that "Turkey has a limit to its patience." Demirel emphasized that Armenia must cease its attacks on Nagorno-Karabakh, which is a part of Azerbaijan, and release the captured territories.

As a result, both the Azeris and the Armenians are displeased with Turkey, the former because it is not giving them real support and the latter because Turkey is now making the question of the development of relations with Armenia dependent on the conflict's resolution.

To be fair, it should be said that, despite finding itself in a difficult position, Turkey has nonetheless done a great deal to restore peace in the Transcaucasus. Mention must also be made of the personal efforts in this area of the late President Ozal, who literally until the last days of his life displayed goodwill and worked for a peace settlement.

All this is so, and the considered nature of the Turkish position commands respect. But the very logic of events, I believe, will mean that the bloody conflict in the Transcaucasus, having arisen within the framework of the community called the USSR, must be resolved within that same framework. Azerbaijan has evidently realized already that the Turkic-Muslim community will be unable to give it decisive support. Both Armenia and Azerbaijan are inclined to seek the solution to the problem within the framework of the former USSR. Khikmet Gadzhi-zade, Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary representative in Moscow, declared in an interview: "Azerbaijan and Armenia are so dependent on Moscow that its authoritative word alone is sufficient to cool many heads. But this word has not been spoken, and we do not hear it!"

No, the Russian Government is not helping to end the bloodshed in the Transcaucasus. It suggests to us the idea that the breakup of the USSR is final, and it is ready to push the resolution of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict (it is not our problem, they say, but someone else's) onto anyone it likes—Turkey, the CSCE, the United Nations, the United States—and some people even say: Let the United States come and establish its own "new world order" in the Transcaucasus. We saw in Iraq how this is done, and we are seeing it now in Yugoslavia.

From the editors: The "Vesti" television program reported recently that Turkey has begun weapons deliveries to Azerbaijan and that 800 Turkish servicemen are fighting there. We asked the Turkish Embassy in Moscow for an explanation. "This is false information. I do not know where it was obtained," Minister-Counselor Kh. Akyndzhi [name as transliterated] declared.

Captured Russian Deserters Sentenced by Azerbaijan

PM1405144793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 93 p 3

[Vladimir Gavrilenko report: "A Tragic Choice—and a Wretched Destiny"]

[Text] Terrible news has arrived from Baku: the Military Collegium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Court has sentenced five Russians to the supreme penalty. All of them—Konstantin Tukish, Yaroslav Yevstigneyev, Vladimir Kudinov, Mikhail Lisovoy, and Andrey Filippov—had served, as the report said, in a subunit of the 7th Army previously stationed on Armenian territory.

I spoke about these six men (as well as Vladimir Simeon, sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment) in an article entitled "Our Guys Against Theirs" in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA of 12 November 1992. Let me quote an extract: "Everyone, apart from Senior Lieutenant Vladimir Simeon, served previously in troop unit 39826 on Armenian territory and deserted from the unit." That is, at the time they were arrested in Azerbaijan's Kelbadzharskiy Rayon 10 September 1992 they were wanted men. They left the unit in spring or early summer, evidently seduced by the bribes offered by representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh self-defense forces. They took part in fighting against the Azerbaijan Army.

What are the charges against them? Allegedly, taking part in fighting 15 July 1992 near the village of Syrkhavend in Nagorno-Karabakh's Mardakertskiy Rayon and killing around 30 Azerbaijan soldiers and destroying three pieces of armored hardware. I say "allegedly" because, since I myself have been to Karabakh, I know the areas where this fighting took place, and I know how difficult—and often simply impossible—it is to see who is opposing you and who is setting ambushes for you and then firing on you—not to mention recognizing them. That is combat. A time of feverish activity. There is the risk of death. But, judging by the charges and the sentence, witnesses were found. Although it is known that there were tremendous violations in the conduct of the case.

I am sorry for these guys, very sorry. And I can do nothing but quote another few lines from the article "Our Guys Against Theirs": "Hard as it is to admit, there have been Russian guys on both sides of the barricades in the Armenian-Azerbaijani war, for various reasons. Some simply for remuneration in accordance with the classic rules of mercenary activity, some out of plain adventurism, some for sincere or kindred attachment to one of the sides." They made their choice. But none of them ever went into battle in this war on the orders of their Russian commanders. And the accusations sometimes leveled at the Russian Army of taking part in this fighting represent a contribution to political games rather than a desire to deal in real facts.

Yes, I am very sorry for these guys. I am sorry for their relatives, who are still hoping for leniency. I would also like to hope for that.

Russian Parliament Seeks Deserters' Return

LD1405163393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1546 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The Russian Parliament has appealed to the Azeri president and National Assembly with a request to hand to Russian justice ex-Russian servicemen Yaroslav Yevstigneyev, Vladislav Kudinov, Mikhail Lisovoy, Vladimir Semion, Konstantin Tukish and Andrey Filippov.

"The Russian Supreme Soviet confirms its strict adherence to U.N. principles, which denounce mercenaries and their criminal actions, and assures Russia will administer show justice in full correspondence to the international law, openly and fairly," says the appeal.

The Supreme Soviet will consider satisfaction of this request by the Azeri supreme bodies as a humane goodwill act, which testifies to the support to forming good-neighbourly relations between the two states and peoples, says the document.

The Azeri Supreme Courts' military board has sentenced the five Russians to capital punishment—shooting. Vladimir Semion has been sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment.

Russia, Czech Republic To Share Intelligence

LD1505152193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1337 GMT 15 May 93

[Report by correspondent Lyubovtsev]

[Text] The ending of the visit to the Czech Republic by Academician Primakov, the head of Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service, is among today's events. We asked Viktor Lyubovtsev, Mayak's correspondent in Prague, to talk about its results on our afternoon Panorama.

[Lyubovtsev] It is not a rewarding task to speak about the results of a trip that, until yesterday, took place in an atmosphere of absolute secrecy. It is a well-known fact that the aims of journalists and the aims of spies are diametrically opposed—the former want to reveal information while the latter want to hide it. It is just the law of their professions.

It is no accident that local journalists who painstakingly tried to learn the details of the meeting between Yevgeniy Primakov and Jan Kalvoda, deputy prime minister of the Czech Republic, Interior Minister Jan Ruml, and other official representatives joked that the academician is as silent as a real spy.

Yesterday, the veil of secrecy surrounding the talks was, at last, lifted slightly for the media. The chief of the Russian intelligence service and his Czech colleague, Oldrich Cerny, held a short news conference in the street in front of the entrance to Cernin Palace at the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Yevegniy Primakov said: We have decided to develop cooperation and interaction between Russia and the Czech Republic—cooperation in combating international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their components; not just nuclear, but also chemical, bacteriological, and radiological weapons. It is in our common interests not to allow hotbeds of conflict to be created in Europe that might threaten the interests of our states. In this connection, it seems important to recall the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Evidently, both intelligence services have their own sources of information in this country torn by interethnic conflicts.

The exchange of information that the leaders of the two intelligence services agreed upon in Prague, in their words, will be mutually advantageous and, Primakov stressed, will not serve the interests of a third country.

The Czech journalists were also interested, naturally, in such painful questions as the growing activeness in the country of the Russian and the international mafia—especially in drug trafficking.

Yes, these questions were also studied, Primakov and Cerny replied, but they did not give any specific details.

Finally, a further problem worrying the Czech public is the activities of former KGB agents. The chief of the intelligence service told journalists here that this problem had not been touched upon at the talks. This question may be discussed in the future.

The visit ended today. Alas, its real results remain hidden, in any event, as far as the public is concerned. That is probably how it should be, since at issue is the extremely delicate area of cooperation between the two intelligence services.

It is clear that the confidential relations established between them in Prague will not only serve the joint fight against international terrorism but, I think, will also serve the wider political mutual understanding between Russia and the Czech Republic.

Viktor Lyubovtsev, reporting from Prague for Mayak Panorama.

Primakov Comments on Talks

LD1405222593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2005 GMT 14 May 93

[By correspondent Viktor Lyubovtsev, including recorded remarks by Yevgeniy Primakov, head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, date and place not given; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, head of the Russian foreign intelligence service, has ended his visit to Prague. He held talks with Deputy Premier Kalvoda, Interior Minister Ruml, and other Czech officials. What specifically did they discuss?

[Primakov] We discussed a whole series of questions. We have a wide range of mutual interests. Which interests are these? They undoubtedly include our striving to prevent the development of international crime and terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass

destruction. I do not mean just nuclear weapons, but also chemical, bacteriological, and radiological weapons. It is in our mutual interests that Europe does not become a hotbed of conflict, which could have a direct effect—maybe not so much on the borders for the time being—but on the interests of both Russia and the Czech Republic. [Video shows Prague buildings, Primakov outside official building being interviewed]

Spokesman Explains Russian Veto on Cyprus

LD1405132993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1311 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The Russian veto in the UN Security Council on financing international peacekeepers on Cyprus does not "create a precedent for further similar steps of the Russian Federation in voting on other issues", according to Foreign Ministry Spokesman Sergey Yastrzhemsbkiy.

"In each case Russia determines its position on concrete issue", he told a briefing on Friday.

The Russian veto was triggered exclusively by financial reasons. Russia does not believe it necessary to radically change the system of financing UN forces on Cyprus which has been working for 30 years now, he said.

Such changes will leave Russia in "a delicate financial situation" and it will sustain new expenses, he added.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Views Mideast Talks

LD1405133593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1307 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The ninth round of the Arab-Israeli negotiations was held in a business-like atmosphere. All participants in the round perfectly understood their responsibility and were striving for flexible and constructive discussion, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today, estimating the negotiations held from April 27 through May 13 in Washington.

For the first time, the sides started to discuss the essence of the Mid-Eastern settlement, which testifies to the fact the negotiations are entering a qualitatively new stage, he said.

Sergey Yastrzhembskiy reported all groups have had certain changes, much work has been done to bring the stands closer together and elaborate mutually acceptable, well-balanced and compromised approaches.

Mentioning difficulties, which still remain in the negotiations, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy said "inclination toward further dialogue was clearly confirmed by all the participants", who unanimously approved the decision of the Russian and U.S. sponsors to play a more active role in the negotiations.

Speaking of the next negotiations round scheduled for early June, 1993, the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said Russia considers it possible to use the inter-session period to continue working on the documents, primarily in the Palestinian-Israeli area.

"Russia calls on all the negotiation participants to create conditions for the talks progress, take new specific steps towards the consolidation of trust, prevention of violence outbursts, improvement of the humanitarian situation and observation of human rights," noted Sergey Yastrzhembskiy.

Russian-Arab Conference Opens in Moscow

LD1405085193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0747 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—A wide range of economic, scientific and cultural problems are going to be discussed at the international conference "Russia and the Arab World: Problems and Prospects of Business Cooperation", which opens here at the premises of the Russian Management Academy. Representatives of 20 Arab countries agreed to take part in this conference.

Chairman of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Viktor Chernomyrdin, other ministers, scientists and politicians are expected to address the conference.

This conference was due to be opened on May 12, but was postponed at the request of the several Arab countries.

Foreign Ministry Views Yemeni Elections

LD1405135193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1306 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The recent parliamentary elections in Yemen have confirmed the intention of the Yemen people to consolidate the single statehood and form the basis for progress in democratization, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's information and press department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

In his words, the elections passed the vote of confidence in the General People's Congress and the Yemen Socialist Party, which carries special responsibility for outlining immediate development of the Yemen state and society.

Close cooperation between the two organizations gives hope they will fully use all possibilities to ensure stability in Yemen and solve social and economic problems.

The Russian side believes the forming Yemen power structures will continue the traditionally friendly relations with Russia with due account of new international and regional realities, said Sergey Yastrzhembskiy.

Russia Reportedly To Adopt 'Tough' Line on Japan

OW1505114093 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 0304 GMT 15 May 93

[From "NHK News" program]

[Text] The contents of a document on Russia's foreign policy have recently come to light. The document stresses the need for Russia to follow the position that the territorial issue does not exist between Japan and Russia and to take a hard-line stance against Japan.

According to a JIJI report from Moscow, the document on Russia's foreign policy, compiled by the Russian Council of Security, was signed by President Yeltsin on 27 April. As for the Northern Territories issue, the document says that a solution to the territorial issue should not be based on unilateral requests made by Japan, and Russia should adhere to the policy of preserving Russian territory at talks with Japan. The document also stresses the need for Russia to uphold the position that the territorial issue does not exist between the two countries, thereby urging the Russian Government to fundamentally alter its conventional policy toward Japan, which attaches primary importance to solving the Northern Territories issue, and indicating the very tough posture toward Japan that the former Soviet Union took during the Brezhnev era.

The document unequivocally says that maintaining relations with the United States and China is important for Russia in the Asian-Pacific region, and it points out that Japan is not interested in providing aid to Russia.

Meanwhile, former Prime Minister Nakasone left this morning for Moscow to sound out how the Russian Government will adopt its future Japan policy and how it plans to deal with the Northern Territories issue in the future. During his stay in Moscow, Mr. Nakasone will give a lecture at the University of Moscow and exchange views with Russian experts on international affairs. Mr. Nakasone is scheduled to meet with President Yeltsin on 18 May, and he intends to discuss Japan's economic assistance to Russia before the Tokyo Summit, the issue of dismantling nuclear weapons in Russia, the issue of President Yeltsin's visit to Japan, which has been postponed twice, and the Northern Territories issue.

Japan To Open 2 Consulates in Far East

PM1705103393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 May 93 p 7

[Valeriy Golovin report: "Trade Plus Diplomacy"]

[Text] Khabarovsk—Japan intends to simultaneously open two general consulates in Russia's Far East 1 July—one in Khabarovsk and one in Vladivostok. Sumio Kusaka, deputy head of department at the Japanese Foreign Ministry and head of a special delegation who has arrived in the Amur region, reported this.

Leaders of the kray administration assured the diplomats from the neighboring country that they will do everything they can to help resolve problems connected with the opening of the consulate; after all, this is beneficial to the Japanese and Russian sides alike. Japan now occupies second place in terms of the number of joint ventures in Khabarovsk Kray. Many offices of major firms from this country operate here, and scientific and cultural ties are developing fruitfully.

Japan Urges Ban on Radioactive Dumping at Sea

LD1705082193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0648 GMT 17 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo May 17 TASS—The governors of the Japanese Fukuoka, Saga and Nagasaki prefectures called on the government on Monday to request Russia to stop radioactive dumping into sea. They forwarded a similar joint statement to the country's Foreign Ministry, the Environmental Control Agency and the Japanese Scientific and Technical Administration.

Earlier, 13 other prefectures sent a request of the same content to Russia through the Japanese Foreign Office. All of them are worried over aftereffects the radioactive dumping can have on fish and other marine edible products.

The Russian Federation had notified interested foreign states this year that the Soviet Union dumped two shut-off nuclear reactors in the Pacific areas adjacent to Russia as well as considerable quantities of their waste.

Russia has now stopped burying solid radioactive waste on the Sea of Japan bottom. However, it reported that the federation would continue to dump low-toxic liquid waste into the Pacific for some time, since the country has now industrial facilities to utilise it. [sentence as received]

International investigations have shown that this dumping does not raise the radioactive background in the region at least at the present time.

Ministry Brands Kurils 'Document' Fraud

LD1405141493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—"Experts from the Russian Foreign Ministry can guarantee 200 per cent the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA article with the title 'Who advises the authorities to secretly pass over the Kurils' is a fraud," head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Directorate Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

"The Russian Foreign Ministry has nothing to do with this 'document'. It was not issued or developed or vised [as received] by the ministry," stressed Sergey Yastrzhembskiy.

Today's issue of the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper carried a 'sensational material' passed over to it by Deputy Sergey Baburin. The material contains recommendations on preparations for Boris Yeltsin's Japanese visit bypassing the parliament, the Security Council and mass media, as well as says the visit must begin in any case before the "Seven" conference beginning. [passage as received]

The anonymous 'document' make hints about Russia will, possibly, make concessions to Japan in the territorial issue. [sentence as received]

The newspaper also published a commentary to the article, which stressed this 'document' should be viewed as a fraud.

The opinion of the newspaper editor's office is shared by head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Asia-Pacific Department Nikolay Solovyev, who fully refuted the whole material, as well as Sergey Baburin himself.

Japan Grants $350 Million in Aid

LD1505120193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Japanese Government has decided to allocate $350 million in aid to Russia. The Russian Government intends to exert financial pressure on regions where the privatization process has been stopped. This was said by Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays. Finance Minister Boris Fedorov has expressed the same intention.

Commentator Cites Slow Pace of Western Aid

LD1405122193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0930 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Of the $24 billion of aid promised by the West, Russia received only $1 billion last year. Aleksandr Malikov, our London correspondent, reports.

[Malikov] Western governments are increasingly inclined to think that credits and loans should not be linked to the future success of Russian reforms, as rewards; rather, money should be advanced without numerous conditions, otherwise the political scenario of the Balkan conflict may be repeated in Russia but on a totally different scale. Unfortunately, bankers are used to applying material rather than political criteria to life.

An article in the FINANCIAL TIMES shows that they are afraid to risk their money by giving it to Russia without conditions. There are latent contradictions and tensions growing between the World Bank and the IMF, on the one hand, and G-7, on the other. The differences concern the strategy and tactics of aid to Russia. These differences, in my view, confirm the sober view that, however outwardly attractive the Western aid package to Russia may seem, it will be slow in coming, and that one should least of all count on the philanthropy of international financial institutons.

I will voice a seditious thought by saying that the G-7 has made far from the best choice by appointing institutions famous for their rigid conservatism as the main channel of financial loans. This error was made a year ago, and is being repeated now. Therefore, it is difficult to rule out the posssibility that last year's scenario of aid to reforms will not be repeated.

Volskiy Cites Need For Foreign Investment Legislation

LD1505200593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 May 93

[By Vladimir Kondratyev including recorded passages by A. Khandruyev, deputy chairman of Russian Central Bank, and I. Volskiy, chairman of Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kondratyev] We're used to thinking that Germany is our biggest partner in the West. It is indeed, but as far as investment is concerned German private capital is in no hurry to get into Russia. Last year investment totalled the laughably small sum of just eight million German marks. How to rectify this was the subject of an economic conference in Dusseldorf. [passage omitted]

[Khandruyev] We're in a paradoxical situation, whereby we have an abundance of labor and materials but an acute shortage of foreign investment, and it's impossible to create a favorable climate for it by talk alone, of course.

[Volskiy] Do you know why the big foreign companies are quitting Russia in favor of Kazakhstan? Because the laws are better in Kazakhstan. They've passed a law on protection for foreign investment, and it's a serious law; they've passed a law on guarantees for export of profit; they've passed a law on concessions. So it's our legislation that has to be changed above all. This is very important, and the sooner it's done the better.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Meets Senior Officials From Security Ministry

LD1505095793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0916 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—President Yeltsin had a meeting today with senior officials of the Russian Security Ministry, the press secretary of the Russian president reports.

They discussed problems dealing with ensuring Russia's national security during the period of formation of its democratic statehood in the context of the domestic and international situation. Serious attention was devoted to the participation of the Security Ministry in the anti-crime and anti-corruption struggle. Economic security problems were also discussed at the meeting.

Participants in the meeting stated that the trend of political and information extremism on the part of some parties and groups, that emerged recently, is a destabilising factor for the country, which is fraught with the threat to people's safety.

Analysing the political results of the referendum, the president stressed that the consolidation of Russia's statehood is the key precondition for its peaceful revival. A new constitution ensuring strong and effective democracy should become the cornerstone of this process.

Speaking about the tasks facing the Security Ministry, Yeltsin stressed that, on a broad scope, they consist in defending the reform ensuring Russia's strong positions in the world.

Denies Barannikov Resignation Rumors

LD1505111093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1035 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 15 May—At his meeting with heads of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security, President Boris Yeltsin denied rumors of Viktor Barannikov's resignation from the post of security minister that were circulated by certain media, the Ministry of Security public relations center reported.

Speaks Out on Mafia

LD1505172893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 15 May 93

[By A. Sapozhnikov from meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Security Ministry officials in Moscow on 15 May, including recorded remarks made by Yeltsin during the meeting; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin had a working meeting today with the leadership of Russia's Security Ministry. They discussed the problems of ensuring the country's national security and the Security Ministry's role in the fight against crime and corruption.

[Sapozhnikov] Outlining the tasks of the Security Ministry, the president noted that in the end they consist in defending democratic reforms. Therefore, the president believes that the Ministry ought to pay greatest attention to protecting economic security and to combating espionage, smuggling, and organized crime.

[Yeltsin] Why are organizations that openly and publicly advocate the idea of overthrowing lawful authorities by force, as well as ethnic and social strife, allowed to operate in Russia? Why are there organizations in Russia that are setting up detachments of armed fighters, threatening to use and even actually using arms? Why is Moscow divided into spheres of influence by the mafia and bandit structures?

[Sapozhnikov] Boris Yeltsin stressed that a recent tendency toward political and information extremism on the part of certain parties is a strong destabilizing factor, which poses a threat to the security of the people.

Assessing the political results of the referendum, the president pointed out at the meeting that the consolidation of statehood based on a new constitution is a fundamental prerequisite for Russia's peaceful revival. The constitutional conference to be convened in June is an important stage in preparing the constitution.

[Yeltsin] The constitutional conference is convened not to adopt the constitution, but to work out the final text of the constitution agreed with the members of the Federation.

Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, Sobchak on New Draft Constitution

LD1505223593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 15 May 93

[By correspondent A. Sapozhnikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Assessing the political results of the referendum, the Russian president stressed at today's meeting at the Ministry of Security that a fundamental prerequisite for the peaceful dynamics of Russia's revival is the strengthening of the country's statehood based on a new constitution, which ensures a strong and efficient democracy.

[Sapozhnikov] At a meeting at the Security Ministry today, Boris Yeltsin said that the existing constitutional field is very similar to a minefield. This comparison very much suits the opponents of the president with regard to the adoption of a new constitution—just one wrong step and the consequences are irreparable.

Ruslan Khasbulatov told foreign journalists today that the presidential variant of the constitution is even worse than that presented at the sixth Congress. But still, the draft new constitution includes three independent variants: the first one was prepared by Rumyantsev, the head

of the Constitutional Commission, the second one by Professor Alekseyev and Anatoliy Sobchak, and the third variant was prepared on the instruction of the president by Sergey Shakhray's working group. A joint variant became the final document.

A draft new constitution should be discussed by a constitutional meeting which is due on 5 June. The Russian Parliament supports the idea of holding the meeting. It will be held only on the basis of equal representation from all subjects of the Federation, and various parties and movements. A constituent assembly may be held on its results, and it will make the final decision. Thus, a constitutional way is open for absolutely everyone.

Moreover, St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak said today that we insist that deputies take part in this process, but we will categorically insist on all people expressing their will with regard to adoption or rejection of the new constitution. As for the Congress of People's Deputies, it has lost this exclusive right, as became clear from the referendum. [Video shows meeting at Security Ministry, shots of Khasbulatov, Shakhray, and Supreme Soviet sitting.]

Rumors of Threat on Yeltsin's Life Rejected

MK1405094893 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 16, 14 May 93 (signed to press 13 May) p 1

[POSTFACTUM report: "National Salvation Front Dissociates Itself from Extremists]

[Text] Sergey Baburin, coordinator of the Russia parliamentary opposition faction, has declared that rumors about preparations for an attempt on the life of the president are being spread to destabilize the situation in the country and to have Yeltsin impose a regime of personal rule. "All who are spreading such rumors should be held politically responsible," he declared. "Neither the Russian National Union nor the National Salvation Front are going to take any such extremist steps."

More on Chernomyrdin on Government Policy

PM1405132193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 93 First Edition p 4

[Irina Demchenko report under "Analysis and Forecast" rubric: "Viktor Chernomyrdin Advocates Assistance to Regions Which Support Reforms in Russia"]

[Text] The federal government and the regional political elites are at least two sides which have really benefited as a result of the protracted conflict on the Russian political Olympus: Their prestige has been reinforced in direct proportion to the time taken and methods used to sort out relations between the president and the parliament. It appears that Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin has decided that the time has come to get together with leaders of the regions and map out what has been achieved. In any case, that was the thrust of his report at the conference 12 May of leaders of soviets of subjects of the Federation, during which the head of the Council of Ministers expressed his opinion on certain economic and political aspects.

On the Political Situation

In the face of the constitutional and political crisis, the political system has turned into one of the main restrictions on radical economic and political transformations.

A roundtable could theoretically be convened, but on subjects such as the following: How to suppress inflation, and how to stop the fall in production. The adoption of decisions on these problems could promote the establishment of responsible political parties.

On Inflation

In its work, the government proceeds on the basis of real resources. The restrained monetary-credit policy which has been pursued recently by means of coordination between the Central Bank and the government has made it possible to seriously inhibit inflation, but we find somewhat worrying the April decisions made by the supreme organs of power.

We believe that conducting a tough anti-inflation policy is an urgent task. Therefore, there will be no indexation of circulating capital for producers out of centralized credits. We will carry out a decisive reduction of budget subsidies and financial aid, although I can see that this is by no means a simple issue.

On the Population's Living Standard

The population has started to gradually restore its level of consumption. We believe that the most difficult period is already in the past for the bulk of the population.

Impermissible distortions have recently occurred in the differentiation of wages. We have prepared draft laws on regulating wages and on a living wage.

On the Subsequent Development of Economic Reform

Significant tactical changes have recently occurred in our country in favor of "utilitarian solutions." The movement toward a full-fledged socially oriented market economy has started. But we will not assume commitments which are impossible to carry out. We do not have the possibility to compensate all losses.

The farmers are the ones who do need subsidies. However, the credits which the government has allocated to the agrarian sector are taking a very long time to reach that sector. It is simply incredible: The January credits have not yet reached them even today. We will continue to support all forms of peasant cooperation.

The time has come when we must release coal prices. Then we will have to deal with the prices of gas, electricity, petroleum, and petroleum products.

There can be no retreat toward universal control of prices and incomes, toward the state order. No one—including the producer—will accept this. At the same time, today it is clear that the strengthening of state regulation is unavoidable. But we need internal brakes to prevent us overstepping the fatal line beyond which reform is merely a matter of state management.

While the state remains an owner, it must fulfill management functions.

On Regional Policy

The regions must actively participate in running the economy. Our aim in regional policy is the joint implementation of interregional programs with obligatory state support, the introduction of a new taxation system which would give the regions greater autonomy (local budgets should account for most of the income in the consolidated budget), and the expansion of the powers of local organs in resolving current tasks—primarily as regards privatization.

In the sphere of privatization, the emphasis must be placed upon extending the regions' rights and opportunities. They must have great opportunities in managing property and distributing shares.

But there are spheres in which we cannot and will not concede to the local leaders: this concerns monetary and taxation policy, the provision of freedom of trade on the territory of Russia, and foreign economic activity. Direct state support will primarily be granted to regions which support state reform in Russia.

On Cadre Policy in the Government

People ask me how I react to the fact that certain vice premiers—that is, Shumeyko and Shakhray—rate themselves almost higher than the prime minister. I know that one of them is taller and one shorter, but it is not up to me to decide who is higher and who is lower.

People ask me about relations between Yeltsin and Rutskoy. I am a pretty civilized person and I think that people should have a respectful attitude toward one another. Each should respect the other's position.

As regards the resignation of my deputies Skokov and Khizha: I only found out about Skokov's resignation today (12 May; the president signed the document 10 May—I.D.). I respect Skokov very much, and I hope he will not be left without a job. I do not think that Khizha will remain without a job.

Rutskoy Hits Radicalism, Seeks Consensus

PM1405112193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with Russian Federation Vice President A.V. Rutskoy by Political Observer Boris Slavin; place and date not given: "Aleksandr Rutskoy: If You Stick to Level Flight They Will Shoot You Down"]

[Text] Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy is vice president of the Russian Federation, a pilot, and a hero of the Soviet Union. He was born in 1947 and is married with two children. Until recently, on the president's instructions, he was in charge of agriculture and headed the interdepartmental commission on combating crime. Following the exposures of mafia structures and instances of corruption in the top echelons of power, he was released by B. Yeltsin from all his duties. PRAVDA Political Observer Boris Slavin talked with A.V. Rutskoy.

[Slavin] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, you and I talked in March, right after the president's meeting with "Civic Union." I warned at the time that the president would deceive you and would not enter into an alliance with centrist forces. You disagreed with me.

[Rutskoy] When we invited Boris Nikolayevich to "Civic Union," I had hoped that Yeltsin would, nonetheless, realize that he is not president of "Democratic Russia" but president of the Russian state, who must guarantee compliance with all laws and the Constitution in society. He must be the president of all citizens: of communists, social democrats, democrats, and populists.

[Slavin] In my opinion, this is the only correct policy for Russia, but the president has departed from it.

[Rutskoy] He was helped by advisers in his entourage. They convinced him that extreme radicalism is the correct way out of the critical state in which we find ourselves. As a result, he began understanding decisive actions as radicalism, but radicalism always entails negative results.

[Slavin] And even blood. As was the case on Leninskiy Prospekt 1 May.

[Rutskoy] Yeltsin is now trying to accuse the opposition of that. But a question occurs to me: Who had a problem with the people who wanted to march along Leninskiy Prospekt toward the Sparrow Hills?

[Slavin] Nobody. There is a natural pattern: When special-purpose militia detachment members and the militia do not bar the streets, tragedies do not happen.

[Rutskoy] Further, who will answer for the people killed and crippled? Incomprehensible! Now let us look at the pictures of the demonstration. A question occurs to me here as well: Why were television cameras set up in advance on the roofs of houses right where the bloodshed occurred? What is the result? Was all this provoked? Done deliberately? If the authorities had observed the

laws, blood would not have been shed, but laws are not observed in our system of society. I have seen this for myself from my experience of the work of the interdepartmental commission which I headed on the president's instructions.

[Slavin] Do you not believe that, when Rutskoy touched the "holy of holies" of the existing power and showed its mafia nature (the cases of the "red mercury," "gold," embezzlement of the property of the Western Group of Forces, etc.), the vice president became unwelcome? I particularly wish to emphasize the problem of the "red mercury." As soon as you touched on it in your television polemic with Gaydar, he at once evaded it.

[Rutskoy] On the other hand, he remembered my watch. MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS wrote in this connection that I wear a Rolex on my wrist, which is worn only by major bankers in the West.

[Slavin] But in actual fact?

[Rutskoy] In actual fact, it is an ordinary Seiko, which Nikita Mikhalkov gave me on my birthday.

[Slavin] Clearly, Gaydar tried to use these petty problems to divert the television viewers' attention from the main problems—above all, the ones of which PRAVDA has written. I will repeat: Are these problems not the deep-seated reason why you have been dismissed?

[Rutskoy] That is perfectly clear. As the president said in his statement, I was allegedly using his assignments for political purposes. In actual fact, this is not so. Take the countryside, for example. All my proposals, elaborations, and programs relating to the agro-industrial complex were 95-percent ignored by the president and the government. There was overt sabotage of my proposals.

[Slavin] I have heard that several programs for the development of agriculture were drawn up under your leadership.

[Rutskoy] One general program and five territorial ones were drawn up. The latter were geared to the production and full waste-free processing of agricultural produce. Thus, under the Pskov project, for example, it was planned to produce and process 65,000 tonnes of meat products a year, starting with the feed base and ending with the packaging of sausages. What is 65,000 tonnes for the northwest? It is virtually its complete supply of meat products. We did the same thing with sugar.

[Slavin] Maybe someone had an interest in ensuring that those projects were not implemented?

[Rutskoy] You understand, I kept quiet before, but badgering of the vice president began right away, just two weeks after the election. Everyone made it clear to me that I had done my thing—the election had been won.

[Slavin] If I am not mistaken, you brought millions of people to the president, particularly communists who sympathized with you.

[Rutskoy] What? Poltoranin said that if the president had gone with a can of kerosene he would have won that election just the same, but I am profoundly doubtful about that.

[Slavin] I would like to conclude the topic of the countryside. I know that the mass of credits allocated for the development of agriculture and private farming is not getting through to country folk.

[Rutskoy] The last file that I passed to the General Prosecutor's Office concerned precisely the funding of the agro-industrial complex. The harm done to the state in this sphere is equal to 3.3 trillion rubles [R], during 1991 and 1992, because of delays over credits, credit shortfalls, etc. But the most interesting thing is that neither the Ministry of Security nor the Ministry of Internal Affairs has given me a single document. Yuriy Boldyrev, former chief of the control administration under the president, declared in the interdepartmental commission in the presence of the general prosecutor, the ministers of security and internal affairs, and the secretary of the Security Council: "Aleksandr Vladimirovich, I have not gone to the interdepartmental commission because the president has prohibited me from giving you documents on the Western Group of Forces." As you see, instead of helping the interdepartmental commission, artificial obstacles were put in its way. But people were working on it, and eight files were passed to the prosecutor's office. Criminal proceedings have already been instituted on three of them. I am sure that they will be instituted on the rest too. Everything was done to prevent it from working. The interdepartmental commission was not allocated premises, finances, means of communication, transportation, or office equipment (Mr. Chubays even spoke about this on television and stated definitely that I was lying on this issue), but, as the saying goes, there is a God. In taking the interdepartmental commission away from me, the president in his edict instructs the government to allocate the aforementioned funds. There is your answer with regard to who was lying.

[Slavin] After this, as PRAVDA has already written, a real Rutskoy hunt was organized....

[Rutskoy] This is obvious, of course. They are now foaming at the mouth and trying to present me in a bad light. Look what the magazine STOLITSA, the newspaper IZVESTIYA, and others write. They have sunk so low as to insult even my parents. They could not sink any lower.

[Slavin] I have heard that they are searching for your medical history—as well as V. Zorkin's, incidentally.

[Rutskoy] It is clear why they are seeking the medical history: They want to make me out to be incapable. I told them: "Look for the history of illness there, 'up above.'"

[Slavin] Let us return to your general political position.

[Rutskoy] I am a supporter of the laws, and so well-being in society depends, above all, on compliance with laws. If laws do not suit, replace them. Do not violate the laws, but replace them. At the same time, replace them by a democratic means, by a parliamentary means which would suit all of society. Let us now see what is happening in our country. Whether our Constitution is good or bad, if the president, having placed his hand on it, at first swears loyalty to it but then calls it a communist and Brezhnevite constitution, what does this mean?

Note, our president is chairman of the Constitutional Commission which drew up the basic draft. Suddenly some new presidential constitution appears around the corner. This must be a joke, to say the least. There is the Constitutional Commission headed, I will repeat once again, by the president, who is preventing the constitution's adoption in a civilized way, by parliamentary means? [sentence as published] What is the constitutional assembly of which the president speaks? Of whom does it consist? Where are its members' powers? There is the Congress, there is the Supreme Soviet, there are the people's deputies, there are the elected presidents of the republics, the chairmen of the republics' supreme soviets, and the chairmen of the soviets of krays and oblasts, who can and must represent the peoples' interests. But those who were appointed by the highest command for diligence in subservience and in implementing antipopular reforms—you will excuse me—they simply have no rights, neither moral nor legal.

[Slavin] But the authorities talk a great deal about democratic principles, about democracy. How, incidentally, does this agree with the fact that you, the country's vice president, have not been permitted to speak on television?

[Rutskoy] This is what democracy is, the way they understand it. August united everyone, and yet our reformers have brought nothing off. They fouled up the Soviet Union, and they did this from behind a corner, in some thievish, secret way. And yet there was the All-Union Referendum, when the people advocated the Union. They like to refer to the expression of the people's will, but who took their opinion into account when the agreement on creating the CIS was being signed in Belovezhskaya Forest? What has the breakup of the Union given any republic? Refugees, blood, suffering, a devastated economy, a mess in agriculture and in finances. This is what people have gotten as a result. Who gave them the right to this? Now let us see how voting went in the referendum. For only one-third of those with the right to participate in the referendum voted in support of the president.

[Slavin] But a majority of those who came to vote advocated the president's reelection.

[Rutskoy] Yes, but I still regard as a mistake the Constitutional Court's decision to repeal the Congress decree on the procedure for counting the votes on the first two questions in the referendum. If these questions are unconstitutional, then call them a sociological poll and do not put them to a referendum. Now it turns out that, by relying on the referendum results and interpreting them in favor of the president and his entourage, they have begun perpetrating overt lawlessness while citing nationwide support. At the same time it turns out that the majority of the population has ended up as "red-browns."

[Slavin] People are already talking about "blackshirt reds."

[Rutskoy] They make out that most of the population are "blackshirt reds" these days! What about those who delivered a vote of confidence in the president? Half of them have been brazenly duped. Look at the work of the mass media during the referendum period. Around 99.9 percent of them repeated the same old thing. Even children started singing "yes, yes, no, yes." People have simply been duped for the umpteenth time. The president made promises before the referendum that were worth R13 trillion. Why do they now want to remove Gerashchenko? Because he opposed switching on the printing presses, which could lead to hyperinflation and the complete collapse of the financial system.

[Slavin] What is your attitude toward the idea of bringing Gaydar back into the government?

[Rutskoy] What can I say about this? Gaydar has not finished destroying the economy, he has to be given the chance to do so. Incidentally, his grandfather [the writer Arkadiy Gaydar, 1904-1941] was farsighted when he created the image of the Naughty Boy [Malchish-Plokhish]. He described him just like his grandson.

But in general I approach Gaydar like any other person—in a normal way, with goodwill. But as the economist who has reduced the country to such a terrible state, I have nothing good to say about him, forgive me. Such a politician has to answer to the people. Look, according to figures from foreign research organizations, our country is in 149th position when it comes to reliability. Russia is followed by Albania, the Congo, Armenia, Uzbekistan, and so forth. Just consider what Russia has been reduced to, and in our time!

[Slavin] Might some people have an interest in the collapse of both the Union and the Russian economy?

[Rutskoy] There is nothing accidental in this world. In 1991 CIA Director Gates wrote that the breaking away of the republics from Russia would only be the start of the process. Subsequently the Army would have to be dismantled, and work done to ensure that the population became impoverished.

[Slavin] Is it your belief that all these ideas have been realized?

[Rutskoy] Let's be up-front about this. Did I really write all this? Or is it a fabrication? Unfortunately, all these materials are authentic. I want to emphasize that I am no

advocate of completely reorienting foreign policy, but I do advocate that our relations with foreign states be based on mutual respect, equal rights, and noninterference in each other's affairs. Can it be said that all this is currently the case? Take foreign economic activity. We have been elbowed out of the arms market and the market for the latest technologies. We are selling our oil and gas below world prices. The COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] restrictions have not been lifted either. Foreign states are being more and more blatant in no longer treating Russia as a great power. And it even serves us right if we have been so slow to reform [doreformirovat] that we have slipped to 149th place. We are incapable of ensuring the country's defense, the Army has collapsed completely. During the war production slumped by 24 percent, but during the year of reform carried out by the "great economist" agriculture has been knocked back 10-15 years, and production has dropped by 32 percent. The dictionary says that reform is the route to a better life. Where has our life gotten any better today? We are world leaders only in crime, corruption, and bribery. Sometimes it is even scary to think about where we are headed. A year ago I wrote in PRAVDA about how to get out of the crisis. I was then dubbed an antimarketeer and an antireformer. But listen to what the president and Chernomyrdin are saying today—they are to all intents and purposes repeating the same thing.

[Slavin] You are now, by dint of circumstance, to all intents and purposes becoming Russia's alternative leader. You have opposed the methods of implementing reform as practiced by the Yeltsin-Gaydar government. You have criticized the mafia structures of power and voiced your opinions on the problem of federalism. At the referendum most people advocated early presidential elections for this fall. Would you agree to run in these elections as a presidential candidate with your own program for getting the country out of the crisis? What, for you, are the most important ideas that Russia and its people could follow?

[Rutskoy] As for my running for president, I have, as you know, said before that we should wait and see, and I have given an evasive answer to the question. Essentially I have dodged the issue. I had thought that it would be unethical for me to answer this question while working under the current president. But, following the president's statement and his assessment of my work, I said at my meeting with veterans that I would run for president, if only with a view to preventing political adventurists from gaining power. And I think it would be a success. If the people give me their confidence, I know and have a good idea of what to do to ensure that we finally start living rather than just surviving and existing on humanitarian handouts. We are rich, and we need to do only one thing—deal with things correctly in the interests of people, society, and state.

[Slavin] Nonetheless, how would you describe your main ideas in the most general terms?

[Rutskoy] The most generalized idea is to elaborate a policy of national consensus in Russia. First, I have already repeatedly said that we need to remove point five—the nationality line—from forms, passports, and other documents. "Citizen of Russia"—that says it all.

Second, we need to find a way to cooperate with all political parties, movements, and organizations. As a pragmatist, I selected 18 programs and started analyzing them. What was the result? These parties' positions coincide 85 percent of the time. For the remaining 15 percent we need to reach agreement and make decisions that will suit everyone, without pigeonholing people.

[Slavin] What do you propose for the economic sphere?

[Rutskoy] The main aim should be a sensible and socially oriented economic reform. After all, the economy determines society's politics. If there had been enough foodstuffs, goods, and accessible prices, we would not have seen the protests against the system of implementing reform.

[Slavin] Where are the reserves to be found for improving the economy?

[Rutskoy] First and foremost, in agriculture. We are losing 40-60 percent, and, with certain types of product, up to 90 percent of the output we produce, whereas the developed Western countries—Canada, for instance—lose just 1.5-2 percent. We need to create the conditions for cutting losses of agricultural products and thereby earning extra profits. And, by resolving these issues, we will fill the market with produce and stabilize prices. The extra profits we will earn will be invested in developing agro-industrial complex sectors and solving the countryside's social problems. Vladimir Karetnikov and I organized and helped to develop small- and medium-scale processing technologies which have helped to sharply reduce losses of agricultural produce, to develop the private sector for processing workers, and to give agricultural goods producers a chance to earn and keep profits, rather than splitting them with middlemen. Unfortunately, the government's reaction to the possibility of series production of this equipment was, as before, one of downright sabotage.

Semiofficial propaganda is spreading the myth that I am opposed to entrepreneurs and business. On the contrary, I am tired out from pushing a program of ways to liberate entrepreneurs engaged in production.

[Slavin] Insofar as I am aware, you advocate the preservation and development of all forms of ownership, including state ownership.

[Rutskoy] Yes. I propose that we enter the market not blindly, but consciously, on the basis of economic rather than administrative management.

Uncontrolled markets could only be found at the time of Adam Smith in the 18th century. Such markets no longer exist anywhere. Do you see what is happening now? The president has started talking about resolute action, about

firm administration, a socially oriented economy, and so forth. To all intents and purposes, he is repeating what I said 18 months ago. But at the same time he is calling me an antimarketeer and an antireformer. My colleagues try to reassure me by saying "Aleksandr Vladimirovich, this is politics, do not pay any attention to it," but I think that it is immoral politics. And culprits are found. They are called revanchists and communists.... But, wait, I myself was a party member, and the president was a member of the CPSU and even a candidate member of the Politburo.

Now people are even thinking about a purge of cadres instead of shaping a camp of like-minded people relying on the people's real rather than imagined support. I think to myself: It is 1937 redux—a year of bankrupt politicians seeking out enemies allegedly hampering reform in order to justify their own undistinguished action. Moreover, a constitution is being produced to suit one well-known personality to whom there is no alternative. And if the people are duped yet again into accepting it, we will have our own monarch-cum-dictator.

[Slavin] What is your attitude toward the crime problem in Russia?

[Rutskoy] I would say to everyone that in order to fight crime we need to start with economic relationships in society and with the system of power and state structures. In the interdepartmental commission we elaborated a package of documents on implementing legal reform and fighting crime and corruption. Moreover, we have found cases of economic crimes, corruption, abuse of official position, and so forth. There has been the Supreme Soviet decision to appoint a special prosecutor, and an investigations group has been set up and is currently at work. After this it will be the job of the Prosecutor's Office to look into matters and make the decisions.

[Slavin] Are you confident that this investigations group will be able to complete its work? Insofar as I am aware, state security services have been instructed to investigate the source of the information leaks.

[Rutskoy] Which is what they are doing. The president has prohibited me from issuing the documents of the control administration under the president, but I did have these documents. There are also other sources for getting hold of the documents. Which ones? Let them think about it.

[Slavin] It could be said that you have gone for broke.

[Rutskoy] Not at all. I am doing my job. I am aware of the passionate desire of the president's entourage to get rid of me, and I realize why dirty, slanderous articles aimed against me have appeared in the press. They want to throw me off balance. It is no use. Nothing will come of it.

[Slavin] Nonetheless, what is the state of your morale?

[Rutskoy] They cannot hope to understand what it means to be dive-bombing an antiaircraft battery that is firing at you. I have done that plenty of times. I have 538 sorties to my credit and that means something.

[Slavin] Clausewitz said that war is the continuation of politics by other, violent means. Will you be doing any political dive-bombing?

[Rutskoy] I am right now, but I will tell you that nothing will come of it. Why? Let's be frank. Nobody has reacted to any of my proposals to create a system of presidential power. When it came to the selection and composition of the government or the president's administration nobody consulted me on a single candidate. Whatever I did in the shape of proposing—even before the emergence of Gaydar—the creation of a unified banking system, a unified financial system, legal reform, agricultural reform, and the development of enterprise in the sphere of production and privatization, there was no reaction except to sling mud at me in a brazen and unprincipled way. What about the August events? I realized back then that I would have to dive-bomb for a long time. When it all ended on 23 August they even forgot to invite me to the victory celebration. That was a blatant slap in the face. It was as if I had not done anything and they had all been heroes... hiding in the cellar when word came in that we were about to be stormed.

When they went off to celebrate the victory and I was left behind, I realized that it was time to maneuver—because if you stick to level flight they will shoot you down.

[Slavin] Let's fantasize about the future. You have said that if you were removed from your state activity you would concentrate on setting up a centrist bloc. Whom would you reach out to?

[Rutskoy] I have already told you that I advocate a policy of consensus with all reasonable political forces. I believe—and all the more so today—that we should all reach out to each other, work out what kind of future people see for Russia's development and revival, and find common ground. We must not divide society—that is the most terrible thing that could happen. Let's also work out who is to blame, and to what extent, for what has happened to all of us. We need to decide where we stand. Either we continue to uphold radical positions, or we start forming a powerful centrist bloc which would take part in the elections for both a new parliament and a new president. We have to seek candidates right now and get them actively involved in this so as to ensure that people have experience, awareness, and a vision of the situation. It is simply impossible to solve the sociopolitical problems of such a vast country helter-skelter, as we are doing today. We must get a grip on the situation and not allow radicals to get into parliament, the government, or presidential structures again.

Revival Fund Audit Reportedly To Hurt Rutskoy

MK1505131093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 15 May 93 p 3

[Mikhail Lashch report: "Vozrozhdeniye Fund Audit Ordered. Evidence Implicating Vice President To Be Collected"]

[Excerpts] Back in April Boris Yeltsin plainly saw the absurdity of the situation in which the viewpoint of the vice president was diametrically opposed to that of the president. It was this opposition that prompted Boris Yeltsin to strip Rutskoy of all his powers and most of his perks: he was relieved of his duties initially as supervisor of agriculture, then as secretary of the Anticrime Interdepartmental Commission, and the vice president's secretariat was slashed from 51 to six people. Yesterday, Vladimir Shumeyko signed an order to investigate alleged incidents of financial and economic misappropriations by the "Revival" [Vozrozhdeniye] Social Development Fund, whose president, until recently, was Aleksandr Rutskoy. KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts consider this to be the beginning of an effort aimed at collecting evidence to compromise one of the key political opponents of the president. [passage omitted]

The vice president took an ill-advised political step when he delivered to a Supreme Soviet session a report on corruption at the top echelons of the executive branch. Instead of handing the contents of his "eleven suitcases" to the prosecutor's office, Rutskoy decided to pose as a corruption buster first. This provoked the president's loyalists into taking retaliatory political steps, in particular, ordering an audit of the "Revival" fund, which was headed by Aleksandr Rutskoy. To all appearances, the audit authorized by Vladimir Shumeyko's order seems to be undertaken in order to show that discreet cronyism is still widely practiced by both the vice president himself and those surrounding him. If the "Revival" fund is not found to have been engaging in any unlawful activities, the search for materials harmful to the vice president is bound to be continued by both the authorities and the pro- presidential mass media. In particular, newspapers and television began to carry reports about the construction of summer houses for Aleksandr Rutskoy in the riverside preserve of Serebryanyy Bor (the "Politburo" television program) and in the village of Razdory on the Rublevskoye highway (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI). [passage omitted]

Shumeyko Denies Disbanding of Press, Information Bureau

LD1405200393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] An expanded session of the Collegium of the Russian Ministry of Press and Information took place today, attended by First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko. He told journalists that he knew nothing about plans to break up the Ministry of Press and Information. The Ministry will continue in the form in which it has existed and will develop, Shumeyko stressed.

Talks to Women on Constitution

LD1405224093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 14 May—"The state cannot live without ideology, but today this ideology must be based on values which are common to all mankind and enshrined in the new Russian Constitution," First Russian Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko said today at a meeting with the editors of Russian women's publications. He noted that this would make it possible "to direct more quickly the lion's share of the national income, not to the production of military hardware, but to culture, science, and education."

Talking about the draft constitution, he noted that it is intended to overcome the present diarchy in the country. "Following the referendum, political confrontation has been focused on the adoption of the constitution." According to Shumeyko, the essence of the new basic law is to fight the diarchy and to return the state to normal. He also stressed that the prerogative of political confrontation should belong to the parties and movements and not to the branches of power.

The first vice premier also stressed the need to create a new state policy on cadres. He recalled that the CPSU "nurtured its leaders from the cradle, from the Komsomol. Today there is no system because there is no ideology and no leading party, but it must be created and we shall be engaged in creating a concept for bringing forward leaders at the highest level and with the involvement of science," he stated.

Launches 'Ideological Purge'

MK1505095093 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 6, 14-20 May 93 (Signed to Press 13 May) p 2

[Unattributed report published in the "Agency Sixth Floor. From Informal Sources" column]

[Text] **Vladimir Shumeyko**

According to reports from governmental circles, Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko, who, as is known, oversees cadre affairs in the Cabinet of Ministers, intends to go ahead with the creation of special commissions that will deal with "purging" state officials in the apparatuses of the president, the government, and other bodies of state administration.

The main criteria must be their "loyalty to the president's line and commitment to democratic reforms." Shumeyko reportedly said informally that "this will, of course, be an ideological purge, but there is no other option left."

Yuriy Skokov Seen Challenging Yeltsin

MK1505094093 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 6, 14-20 May 93 (Signed to Press 13 May) p 2

[Unattributed report published in the "Agency Sixth Floor. From Informal Sources" column]

[Text] **Yuriy Skokov**

Yuriy Skokov's resignation, which was talked about for so long, has finally taken place. On 10 May President Yeltsin signed an edict whereby Skokov was discharged from his position as Security Council secretary in connection with being assigned to other duties. It was not specified what these new duties are.

Some analysts believe, therefore, that in the relations between the erstwhile friends, fellow countrymen, and associates Skokov and Yeltsin, the period of behind-the-scenes struggle has ended and the period of open confrontation is beginning.

The fact is that Skokov has already begun his own political game, which he expects to result in the post of prime minister.

It is quite possible, incidentally, that the legitimacy of the presidential edict on Skokov's dismissal may be challenged. The fact is that Skokov was appointed to the post of Security Council secretary by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and under the current constitution, Yeltsin apparently has no power to remove Skokov from his post without parliamentary consent.

According to information in the possession of the agency, Yuriy Skokov is aware of quite substantial support for him. On one hand, he is pinning his hopes on the parliament, which is sure to support him as a "presidential opponent;" on the other, he has enlisted the support of Civic Union, and furthermore, he is relying on a majority in the Federation Council, where Sergey Shakhray has virtually usurped the administrative functions.

According to informal sources, Skokov has negatively assessed Yeltsin's draft constitution, calling it "an open challenge to world public opinion," an undisguised attempt by the president to establish a personal dictatorship. As we reported earlier, Skokov's analytical apparatus has worked out its own draft constitution whereby the head of the executive branch in Russia is not the president but the prime minister.

It is not ruled out that in this situation Yeltsin will try to come to terms with Skokov by offering a compromise formula. However, if none of the president's proposals suits Skokov, he will possibly take a risk and enter open confrontation. According to our information, Skokov has prepared a draft agreement with several components of the Russian Federation in the spirit of "Belovezhskaya Forest," which presupposes the abolition of the center and the creation in the place of the Russian Federation of a "new state formation of a CIS type."

More on Khasbulatov Speech on Constitution

PM1405160193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov delivered at 12 May Moscow conference of heads of soviets: "Ruslan Khasbulatov: Playing Political Games With the Constitution is Dangerous"]

[Text] Esteemed Conference Participants! We agreed that when the very complex period connected with the referendum and the summing up of the results was over we would plan a meeting to discuss the problems of the new Constitution and constitutional reform, and we are holding that meeting today.

There is a very complex situation now, which is also largely connected with the results of the referendum: The precise referendum figures and perhaps an analysis of the referendum will be presented to you by Vasiliy Ivanovich Kazakov, chairman of the All-Russian Referendum Central Commission.

But I should like to take advantage of this occasion to call for prudence from the representatives of the various political forces: on the one hand, those who are intoxicated with victory and, on the other, those who would like to see what is happening as a chain of total defeats. It is neither one thing nor the other. To talk of victory at all is simply inconceivable unless you have lost your wits because out of 107 million voters around 37 million citizens expressed their approval at the polling stations while 70 million either did not turn out or voted against. Thus to talk of victories is simply absurd. And then again, whose victory—the minority's over the majority? Or a victory over one's own people perhaps? Anyway, such referendums in general and talk of victory are, in my opinion, not especially moral.

It would be a different matter if, for example, various questions had been submitted on the basis of a prior decision with the aim of uniting people and achieving a common viewpoint. That would surely be something else. Even that, surely, would not be a victory, but perhaps it would inspire confidence that the work being done in the economic, political, and constitutional reform of our society is correct.

Thus perhaps the right thing to do is to take a very calm and rational look at these results without resorting to any extreme or scathing verdicts on the event that has taken place. Although it is quite obvious that it would have been best had it not taken place at all. We insisted on that for a long time. But we literally yielded to necessity and accepted this step and, as you know yourselves, nothing constructive came out of it for us.

Let us take just one fact: Almost one-half the components of the Federation—40—gave a negative answer to

the first question in the referendum. The majority of the republics—the regional aspect is particularly interesting here—and along with them central Russia opposed it. The rural population opposed it. At the same time, it is particularly noticeable that for example the raw materials-producing regions voted in favor. But I am talking about the results here on the assumption that there were no surplus ballot papers, unlawful methods, and so forth because the true picture of how many ballot papers were used and how many millions of all those ballot papers did not represent physical persons—citizens—is still being clarified.

Therefore, to beat the victory drum and try to impose on society the ideology of the victors would be an unforgivable political mistake, and to somehow dampen the ardor of the new ideologues it needs an authoritative opinion of course from the leaders of the regions and from the components of the Federation so that we can all have the opportunity to very soberly assess the situation which has developed.

The situation is forcing political figures, political structures, and the constitutional organs of power to tackle the problems that exist. First of all, of course, the main problem is the economic reform. But it seems to us that the very serious failure in the sphere of the economic reform is forcing the new ideologues to divert society's attention to other questions which are sometimes perhaps not so relevant. In particular, the constitutional problem. We have all known about its relevance since 1990. It is no coincidence that the Constitutional Commission is working very solidly on the draft Constitution which, at the request of the chairman of the Constitutional Commission and president of the republic, was examined at the Sixth Congress, where its main provisions were approved.

A new round of political confrontation is now beginning in which society's vital interests remain to one side while it is suggested that the center of attention of our society and indeed of the whole world be switched to questions of the Constitution.

I ask myself the following question. Suppose we adopt the Constitution tomorrow. Does that mean that the day after that everything will be fine in our society and that all the conflicts will fade away?

That is why the first task is not to let oneself be carried away by political games over the Constitution under any circumstances. It is necessary to take a sensible look at the socioeconomic situation existing in the country as a whole and in its regions. We must not let ourselves be carried away by this question.

Second. We must recognize that the present political situation is such that work on the draft new Constitution must be dynamic and stepped up. There is no doubt about this because there must be no delay in adopting a well considered and balanced Constitution based on ideas which do not require major revision, for example, the section with the Federation Treaty. We have agreed that the Federation Treaty should be incorporated in full in the new Constitution. So the situation is such we must make joint efforts to ensure that the new Constitution is completed well and adopted without haste or fuss.

The third point to which I would like to draw attention is the very important question of the adoption procedure. It seems to me that it would be simply criminal if we opted to adopt the new Constitution by unconstitutional means. That is why the procedure for the adoption of the Constitution is extremely important here: It must fit precisely within the framework of the constitutional rule of law. I want to remind you that it was the renunciation of constitutional methods of the political reorganization of society behind the back of the then USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Congress of People's Deputies which was one cause of the disintegration of the USSR.

The same scenario or, more accurately, the same trap is being prepared now for the components of the Federation who, unbeknown to the Constitutional Commission, the Supreme Soviet, and those working groups operating in accordance with the laws, are now being involved in some very shady business. First a Constituent Assembly was proposed, but when it became clear that this term did not meet with special approval in society they found a new name—the Constitutional Assembly, then the Federation Council—narrow Federation Council, enlarged Federation Council, and so forth. All these games are an unnecessary complication and must be clearly and consciously discarded. There is only one path within the state—the implementation of the constitutional reform via the existing constitutional mechanisms. If they are imperfect, let us adopt other procedures, but let us do so by legal means and not on the spur of the moment—no matter who suggests it.

However, there is a hidden aspect to this process and I would like to draw your attention to it. The fact is that those high-ranking officials who are trying to exceed the bounds of the constitutional area want to make the regions and the components of the Federation their accomplices. The aim of this is to somehow tar everyone with the collective brush of blame before history and their people. We must not succumb to this ploy under any circumstances if we really bear responsibility both to our people and our state.

Four. I want to remind you that the disintegration of the USSR also marked the first stage in the disintegration of Russia, do not forget that. Because you all know perfectly well what kind of state the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was. It was the Soviet Union. This was a specific sort of state. Elements of Russia were present throughout the Union and the latter's disintegration predetermined the first stage in the disintegration of the Russian state and Russia's statehood as well. Attempts are now being made to complete this disintegration by, among other things, adopting a supposedly new Constitution, which is also to be adopted by patently unconstitutional methods.

We must face the truth here. Let us not forget our involvement in this process. There is only one path left to us—the constitutional path. Of course, on no account should we abandon the progressive provisions proposed by the president in the draft new Constitution. Although even if we agree to this draft I am not sure that in a few weeks time the another version might not appear in the president's office also compiled by goodness knows whom and separate from the Constitutional Commission, of which he himself is the head, by the way.

Five. There is a myth circulating that the Congress is incapable of adopting the Constitution. Well, all right, let us suppose that is true. If the Congress cannot adopt the Constitution, so be it. But who wants to place himself above the Congress, if I may put it that way? If the Congress is incapable of adopting the Constitution this means that another organ will have to do so, the parliament will adopt it after the adoption of the corresponding electoral law and elections. Eighteen months ago the Congress clearly prescribed that the future legislative organ must be one-tier. That is indeed what we inherited. We were not the ones who dreamed up this Congress. The Supreme Soviet alone will be the future lawmaker. So let the new Supreme Soviet adopt the new Constitution. There are no contradictions here either.

Thus this haste and these blanket accusations that the Congress is bankrupt and the Supreme Soviet is bankrupt do not improve our domestic political climate, of course. They certainly do not improve our international positions either, they discredit the state and the legislators, presidential rule itself, and all the organs of power as a whole. The Russian state and its organs of power are being totally discredited and, furthermore, this is deliberate.

You yourselves are well aware that state power has been weakened since the referendum. Consequently we need to make the political process and economic processes manageable again and, furthermore, by means of coordinated actions. Thus I repeat that I do not advocate rejecting the president's ideas out of hand, but they must be introduced in a legal and constitutional way.

You will know from press reports that we recently held a sitting of the Constitutional Commission and prepared an appropriate draft decree of the Supreme Soviet on further work on the new Constitution. You must also look to see what amendments you would like to make.

Obviously we have a very significant and effective mechanism for joint work. I have in mind the mechanism which we developed in the process of preparing and signing the Federation Treaty.

You will recall that we worked in three groups at that time, namely, republics, krays and oblasts, and national okrugs. Standing working groups were formed. You then delegated your specialists and representatives to them for permanent work, people about whom you had no doubts, and with our colleagues here they thoroughly prepared all aspects and all questions of the Federation Treaty.

So at the end of our session I would like us to adopt a decision on this question enabling each republic, kray, oblast, national okrug, and autonomous formation to send its specialists and representatives so that they can continue working here with us on the draft Constitution and of course promptly offer their suggestions and options for the solution of important questions.

It is not so much the Federation Treaty that I have in mind. I want to tell you that it is fully compatible with the new Constitution. At a recent session of the Constitutional Commission the working party of the Constitutional Commission agreed that the Federation Treaty would be compatible without amendments. But if the Federation Treaty is to be included in other sections of the Constitution without the appropriate accompaniment in other sections of the Constitution, it is "left dangling." I am not going to criticize the president's version now, but this is one of those occasions when, on the one hand, the components of the Federation are told: We will incorporate the Federation Treaty in full but the other articles and sections have such conditions attached that it is "left dangling" and the components are left with no opportunity to exercise the rights proclaimed or, rather, declared in the Federation Treaty.

The situation in Mordovia is a graphic example. In light of such scenarios many articles have been prescribed there to deny the components the opportunity of implementing their declared rights. Thus it is important that the working group focus its attention not only on the provisions of the Federation Treaty, which we have already ratified, but also on those accompanying questions which would make it possible to implement the Federation Treaty and the sections of the Constitution connected with the Federation Treaty. It is extremely important to prevent conflicts in various areas. Otherwise what you will get is this, as Marx once said about the constitutions of certain countries: The article proclaims the right to freedom but the paragraph proclaims the repudiation of the freedom proclaimed in the article.

To prevent such contradictions it is especially necessary, it seems to me, that the working group focus its efforts on these problems.

Federation Soviet Leaders' Statement on Constitution

PM1405154793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 May 93 First Edition p 1

["New Constitution for Nationwide Discussion"]

[Text] **Statement by the chairmen of the supreme soviets of the republics within the Russian Federation and of kray, oblast, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrug, and city of federal status soviets of people's deputies**

We, the leaders of the representative bodies of state power in the components of the Russian Federation, are concerned at the exacerbation of the political situation over the adoption of a new Russian Federation Constitution. Russia requires not merely a new Fundamental Law prompted by the latest political campaign. Fundamental documents of this kind are adopted in the interests of the entire people and state, and all components of the Federation.

As you know, the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies approved the basic provisions of the draft of the new Russian Federation Constitution prepared by the Constitutional Commission led by Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin, with the participation of the components of the Federation. Work on this document is now continuing.

The new Fundamental Law must reflect the considerable increase in the status of all parties to the treaty process and enshrine mechanisms for the autonomous exercise of powers by the various levels of state authority.

The new Constitution must implement the principle of the separation of powers and establish the foundations for the organization of representative and executive organs of state power of the republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, cities of federal status, and local self-government entities. Here must be implemented the concept of a strong executive combining with an equally strong representative and judicial power, and vice versa.

We state the following: Constitutional reform in Russia must be implemented strictly within the legal framework of the constitutional space and Russian legislation. In the conditions of the transitional period that our country is experiencing it is extremely important to preserve the consistency and internal logic of the constitutional transformations. A nationally discussed and approved draft of a new Constitution must be adopted by the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. Only that path, albeit a longer one, will enable us to avoid severe social upheaval and ensure the integrity of Russia as a federative state.

This statement was signed 12 May by the participants in a conference of leaders of the soviets of Federation components.

Parties, Movements Set Up Roundtable on Constitution

LD1405132693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Representatives of different parties and movements welcomed the holding of a constitutional conference and spoke in favor of participation of all political and public forces in drawing up and discussing the constitution, a statement on setting up a roundtable in Moscow says. In the organizers' view, the roundtable should become a component of the constitutional conference.

Both the president's and the parliament's draft constitutions have until recently been discussed by narrow circles of like-minded people. It is obvious, however, that a draft constitution cannot be a task for one political party, movement or group at the helm.

The organizers of the roundtable called upon the president and Supreme Soviet to work with them while drawing up a new constitution. Representatives of the Russian Communists said that they were preparing their own draft Soviet Constitution which would be submitted to the Constitutional Commission soon. The Communists are collecting signatures for a referendum on a Soviet Constitution.

The first sitting of the roundtable will take place in Moscow next week.

Further on Meeting

LD1405204693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1912 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—Russian political parties and public movements believe they must take direct part in the elaboration and discussion of a new Russian Constitution, alongside the president, the Parliament and Federation subjects, leaders of various political parties told a news conference at the House of Unions here today.

Before the news conference, they attended a round-table meeting. Leader of the All-Russian Renovation Union and roundtable meeting chairman Aleksandr Vladislavlev told the news conference, the meeting discussed two questions: the participation of political parties and public movements in the constitutional process and their participation in the upcoming elections. Statements were adopted on the two questions and a team of legal experts was formed.

The first statement of the roundtable meeting of public and political movements, organizations and parties voiced the beginning of their work "as part of the constitutional conference". The constitutional conference, in their opinion, should be formed in three equal shares to include representatives of the president and the Supreme Soviet; Federation subjects (representative and executive bodies); and political parties and movements.

The roundtable meeting participants stressed neither the content of drafts new constitution or forms of its adoption were discussed, since meeting participants so far have different stands on these questions. The main thing is to start joint efforts to avoid "bloody conflicts", said leader of the Labor Party Aleksandr Buzgalin.

The main task of the roundtable meeting is to "break parallel adoption of two constitutions," said leader of the Democratic Reform Movement Gavriil Popov. In the words of Aleksandr Vladislavlev, today's meeting was held in the cooperative and constructive spirit.

The second statement, commented on by Gavriil Popov, dwells on ways to reflect in the constitution principles of just participation of political parties and movements in the elections. In his words, both drafts new fundamental law envisage the majoritarian election system. This is dangerous, as various parties and movements will not be represented in the Parliament.

"Anyway, we shall enable the opposition to act, some deputies shall be elected on party lists on the principle of proportional representation," said Popov.

The roundtable meeting was attended by tens of parties and professional organizations, including representatives of the Civic Union, the left-wing center, communist and patriotic forces (with the exception of the extreme chauvinist wing), liberal-democratic forces. The absence of representatives of the Democratic Choice and its core of the Democratic Russia Movement looked strange in this situation.

In the words of Gavriil Popov, who denounced their stand, they "so far decided to abstain", making a considerable concession to the bureaucratic principle of constitution elaboration.

The next roundtable meeting will be held on May 18.

Democratic Russia Movement Absent

MK1505111193 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 May 93 p 2

[Indira Dunayeva report under the "Roundtable" rubric: "Parties Want To Participate in the Constitutional Process on Par With the Authorities. Democratic Russia So Far Standing Aside"]

[Text] Political movements and parties held a roundtable session yesterday where the beginning of its work was proclaimed a component part of the constitutional conference.

The Democratic Russia movement did not take part in the session. Gavriil Popov told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that Democratic Russia had apparently decided, just like some other public and political organizations, not to participate in the constitutional process. In this context Popov noted: "If they can see no feasible forms of cooperation now, at the preparatory stages of the formation of the constitutional conference, how are they planning to work further? Surely, things cannot be totally given up to the bureaucrats. Although, possibly, the radical democrats are hoping to be admitted to the ranks of state officials."

Taking part in the work of the roundtable were representatives of centrist, communist, and liberal-democratic orientations. The participants believe that the constitutional conference should be represented by three equally weighted groups: First, representatives of the president and the Supreme Soviet; second, the Federation's components; and third, political movements, parties, public organizations, and religious persuasions.

Russian Federation Deputy Yuriy Nestorov (Accord for Progress faction) said that according to reports from informal sources, President Yeltsin had approved the idea of such a mechanism of forming the constitutional conference: for each presidential representative, one each from the legislative branch, and the political parties and public organizations.

To be sure, various political forces will not find it easy to work out a common position on the progress of the constitutional process in the country. Grigoriy Rebrov, speaking on behalf of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee, stated that the sole body empowered to adopt the constitution is the Congress of People's Deputies. In the opinion of Marina Salye, leader of the Free Democratic Party, the sole legitimate method of adopting it is by convening a constituent assembly. The participants were ready to approve a statement prepared by Gavriil Popov "On the Need for Ensuring the Principle of Elections by Party Ticket in the New Constitution." The roundtable participants agreed that otherwise it would be impossible to create disciplined parliamentary factions. The statement says that the deputies elected in constituencies as individuals are least protected from the influence of commercial and government structures. Furthermore, Popov believes that since our parties are all-Russian, the principle of elections on a party ticket basis will impart an element of centralization, consolidating the country.

Working in collaboration with the roundtable will be a group of experts on the study of statehood, which is beginning to be formed by Professor Oleg Kutafin, rector of the Moscow Institute of Law. In his opinion, at present "there are no jurists on the president's team who are competent in the sphere of state law." The participants in yesterday's session called on all constructive public and political forces to join the roundtable to ensure the final formation of a group to represent the political parties and public organizations at the constitutional conference.

Foreign Minister Wants Referendum on Constitution

PM1405134493 Paris LE MONDE in French 14 May 93 p 3

[Jan Krauze report: "A Cyclist's Balance"]

[Text] Moscow—Although Mr. Kozyrev claims to be "pragmatic" in foreign policy, he is clearly among the "radical democrats" in Mr. Yeltsin's team and wants to make his voice heard in the internal debate. Immediately after the 25 April referendum, he told us, he called on the

Russian President to "take resolute action without hesitation or concessions." He now welcomes the firing of Security Council Secretary Yuriy Skokov and Deputy Prime Minister Georgiy Khizha, who, according to him, "had stepped outside the framework" defined by Mr. Yeltsin, but he admits that within the government the situation remains "complex," that some of its members "are of different origin and background, and emphasize different things."

However, he would like to think that this team is "viable" if everybody "makes his contribution to the continuation of the reforms." In a word, he is in favor of a "purge," but according to "political" criteria and not based on the views which the various people have on the economy.

Mr. Kozyrev is also arguing for the new Constitution to be adopted by referendum and not, as other members of the presidential team would like, by a Constituent Assembly appointed to that end. At the very time when he was talking, Mr. Yeltsin was signing a decree convening a Constituent Assembly for 5 June: However, nothing has been finally settled, because the president refrained from saying whether this assembly, which will have to finalize the draft Constitution, will also be asked to adopt it. Mr. Kozyrev thinks that the "Gaullist" path of the referendum, which could not be held before the fall, is probably more dangerous, but that its "legitimacy" would be greater.

Last fall, Mr. Kozyrev, alongside Presidential Adviser Gennadiy Burbulis and Information Minister Mikhail Poltoranin, made a major contribution to radicalizing the political struggle by issuing a veritable declaration of war on Parliamentary Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, grouping him with the conservatives. Does he now regret that strategy? "No, it was necessary to bring the conflict into the open, we could not accept a deadlock. Russia's stability is like that of a cyclist, it can only be maintained by moving forward."

Competing Constitutions Seen Hard To Reconcile

MK1405123093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 14 May 93 p 9

[Nika Stark report: "Authorities Comment on Constitution. Both Drafts May Be Adopted as Early as This Summer"]

[Excerpts] The campaign for the adoption of a new Russian constitution is gaining momentum. The president, followed by the parliament speaker, is holding meetings with components of the Federation; members of the presidential team have hit the campaign trail, crisscrossing Russia's regions, but at the same time are holding roundtable meetings on constitutional issues. Most assessments of the two drafts boil down to fairly straightforward judgments along the lines "ours is good, theirs is bad." Against this backdrop, the calls for "only the good things to be taken from either draft" appear rather hypocritical. In the end, it is apparently the procedure and the timetable of their adoption, and not the contents of these drafts, that will prove decisive. Interestingly, the past few days have seen a trend for these timetables to merge—the presidential draft may be adopted at the end of June, and the first discussion of the parliamentary document is scheduled to take place in July. [passage omitted]

Yesterday's roundtable, elaborately entitled "The Presidential Draft Constitution and Guarantees of Political and Civil Liberties," which was held at the House of the Russian Press by the most active members of the presidential team (Mikhail Poltoranin, Anatoliy Sobchak, lawyer Andrey Makarov, People's Deputy Vladimir Varov and so forth) was not an exception in that regard. Civil rights of the individual per se were not actually touched upon, because, according to Andrey Makarov, this section was not questioned by anyone. Moreover, judging from their numerous pronouncements, Boris Yeltsin's loyalists believe that it is the president who will be the chief guarantor of rights and liberties, so there is nothing to worry about. In light of this, the apprehensions voiced by Vasiliy Selyunin, an essayist who also took part in the meeting, that the presidential powers laid down in the draft were excessive, sounded a discordant tone.

Although the "professional" draft drawn up by the president, unlike the "unprofessional" parliamentary version, continues to enjoy undiminishing support, observers have noticed newly emerging defensive undertones in the position of the president's allies. Apparently concerned by the calls made earlier at the White House meeting that the procedure for adopting a new Constitution be kept "within the framework of the current fundamental law" and by the not very soothing results of a campaign trip by Sergey Shakhray and Anatoliy Sobchak to Murmansk, those attending the meeting tried to draw attention to the fact that this was still only a draft open for further amendments. Anatoliy Sobchak also noted that the new constitution is designed only for a transition period, which, however, may drag on for around 10 years. Nonetheless, it is highly unlikely that the idea put forward earlier by Viktor Chernomyrdin, that the two drafts should be merged into one, would receive real support, and not just lip service, from the members of the presidential team who deny the deputies and the congress as a whole any legitimacy. [passage omitted]

Yeltsin's Constitutional Strategy Analyzed

MK1405124493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 16, 14 May 93 (Signed to Press 13 May) p 1

[Lev Bruni report: "Large-Scale Maneuvers"]

[Text] It never rains, but it pours. The draft of a new Constitution was passed from one congress to another—the deputies just did not have time to get around to

considering it. There was more important business to attend to, and suddenly, it began to pour. A constitutional race is in full swing.

The president appears to have presumed that the main result of the referendum was not specific answers to specific questions, but a request to adopt as soon as possible a new constitution, the draft of which was published two days before the voting. The question is how it should be adopted; if the deputies are preparing their own constitution; and, unlike the president, if they are constitutionally entitled to enact it.

Boris Yeltsin, like any other experienced leader, does not like impromptu gestures, which is why it is only logical to assume that in order to overpower the deputies, whom he does not want to disband by force, he would look to his own experience and that of his predecessors.

The Constitutional Conference proposed by the president, in which the components of the Federation have a decisive role to play, and the constitution itself, based on the Federation Treaty, are closely reminiscent of the Novo-Ogarevo process in which Mikhail Gorbachev attempted to bypass the USSR Supreme Soviet and to negotiate new rules of the game with the Union republics. It is not a coincidence that Sergey Alekseyev, former chairman of the Constitutional Oversight Committee of the USSR and an "architect" of Novo-Ogarevo, is one of the authors of Yeltsin's draft constitution.

There is no point in explaining what benefits from the process may be derived by components of the Russian Federation, the more so because if the operation is a success their representatives will turn into senators. But how can the new constitution be adopted according to a procedure that is not provided for in the old one? Paradoxically, the experience of yet another process in which President Boris Yeltsin was involved may be of help here—the process that was diametrically opposed to Novo-Ogarevo, namely, Belovezhskaya Forest.

Having reached agreement with Kravchuk and Shushkevich, Boris Yeltsin resolved all the problems with regard to Soviet legality by abolishing the Soviet Union. If the president manages to reach agreement with the Federation components, the latter, this time convening a meeting in a Russian preserve, say, Zavidovo, may try to resolve all the constitutional problems by setting up a new federation, leaving to its predecessor the old Constitution together with its vigilant watchdog, the congress with the Supreme Soviet chairman, and the vice president in the bargain.

St. Petersburg Mayor Views Adoption of New Constitution

LD1505083893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2347 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 15 May—"The draft new constitution is based on three versions," St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak said in an exclusive interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent. "They are the version drawn up by Rumyantsev's Constitutional Commission, the draft prepared by Professor Alekseyev and myself, and the third version that was drawn up by the working group headed by Shakhray on the president's instructions. A fundamental feature of the unified draft is that it incorporates all the best from what has, until now, been proposed in the previous versions."

According to Sobchak, a sharp political struggle is now being waged regarding the draft new basic law. In this respect, the mayor claims that, during the course of the debate on the constitution, he has not yet heard among the views expressed "a single well-informed and sensible observation to which one might seriously respond."

Sobchak is convinced that it has become clear since the referendum that the Congress has lost the right to adopt the constitution single-handedly. It cannot be adopted by a body for which only 20 percent of the electorate expressed support. The most varied political parties, movements, and representatives of all social strata should be involved in the adoption of the constitution.

The St. Petersburg mayor reaffirmed his proposal that a constituent assembly be convened with equal representation from the federal structures of executive authority, the Supreme Soviet, and the Congress. Sobchak believes that this principle of equal representation from each subject of the Federation—from the council and executive bodies, plus a further 100 people from various parties and movements, including the trade unions—will provide an opportunity to reflect the positions and interests of various sections of the population in the adoption of a new constitution.

Draft Constitution's Provisions on Regional Autonomy Eyed

PM1405105393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 13 May 93 p 1

[Article by Presidential Council member Leonid Smirnyagin: "New Constitution Has Much To Offer the Regions"]

[Text] It seems to me that, in its federal section, the Constitution promises a great deal for the regions. This draft leaves the center practically no formal opportunities to intervene in the formation of regional authorities. It leaves the regional elites alone with their citizens. Because the federal powers have been completely deprived of the chance to appoint heads of administrations, they will be elected. Naturally, the antiquated system of one-man rule within the framework of soviet power is being destroyed. Soviet power is simply disappearing. Local legislative organs will therefore be elected without any input from the upper echelons.

Admittedly, the Constitution does contain two ambiguous points which can be interpreted as a threat to the regions' autonomy. First, it says that **the executive organs at local level form a single system of executive power.** This is not fleshed out. And it may suggest thoughts along the lines of the situation that pertained in the soviets, namely that governors will be cosubordinate to the president. This point needs to be spelled out somewhat more clearly, the i's need to be dotted and the t's need to be crossed.

The second point. The constitution speaks of the institution of presidential representatives. Some commentators of the present text find this extremely irritating. Nikonov and Shatalin, for example. Even though they know through experience gained over the last 18-24 months that presidential representatives basically have the function of observers. None of them is free to interfere in the specific management of affairs in the region. It is quite another matter that they are as a rule fairly prestigious people. Some of them, of course, are extremely ambitious and are starting to worm their way into the decisions of the executive and legislative branches at local level. But it would be more accurate to say that these are attempts to go beyond the bounds of this institution. The institution itself envisages nothing of the kind.

But let me return to the presidential draft of the Constitution. It contains an article which also talks about federal organs of power at local level. And again some people perceive this as a threat to the regions' autonomy. As if these federal organs of power at local level had been urged to solve the problems of that region. Nothing of the sort. It is simply that local authorities have plenty of problems that apply all over the country. Every decision at the center is implemented somewhere in specific terms. Of course, federal power should have some institutions of its own at local level to tackle matters that lie purely within the framework of the powers belonging to the Federation. This is normal practice for any country. Therefore fears on this score are groundless.

On the whole the Constitution made a fairly balanced impression on me. **On the one hand, very proper rights have been transferred downward while, on the other hand, the main attributes of unified statehood have been enshrined in it.** Specifically the supremacy of federal laws has been enshrined (Article 65). The free movement of goods, people, and information across administrative borders has been stringently enshrined (Article 63), and turning administrative borders within the country into state borders has been categorically forbidden. Article 64 talks about a single currency unit. Article 66 deals with the unity of the basic principles of state structure. And finally, on several occasions the Constitution places a ban on leaving the Federation (Articles 58 and 70). Which is the case in a number of federal states.

Article 61 confirms the permanent rights of the components of the Federation. Everything that is not transferred to the Federation and everything that is not within the joint jurisdiction of the components and the Federation belongs without reserveation or restriction to the prerogative of the components. This is a very important point.

However, there are things in the new Constitution which I do not welcome. Thus the following issue is resolved in too woolly a fashion: **Will the components of the Federation have equal rights or will each one merit a different approach.** There are different viewpoints about this. Some members of the Presidential Council say that the existence of different rights for different components of the Federation is a sure sign of an imperialist approach. It seems to me that a difference in status between components of the Federation is acceptable. It even leaves room to reconcile mutual disputes, but on the sole condition (this is not recorded, unfortunately) that **if the components of the Federation assume different rights, they should also assume different obligations.**

National Salvation Front Unveils Opposition Action Plan

MK1405120493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 16, 14 May 93 (Signed to Press 13 May) p 2

[Yulia Salnikova report: "Opposition Ready for Fight"]

[Text] As follows from the well-known 10 May statement by the City Hall press service, Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov promised to take to task members of the opposition who took part in what he called the unlawful rally on Red Square 9 May.

Ilya Konstantinov, one of the National Salvation Front [NSF] leaders, commenting on the statement in a conversation with your SEGODNYA correspondent, said among other things: "City hall is juggling with the facts, and Luzhkov himself would be better advised not to abuse his position." According to Ilya Konstantinov, "everything went fine" on 9 May, which, nonetheless, did not cause the president's opponents to slacken their vigilance. In their view, yet another action by Boris Yeltsin is to be expected in the near future to suspend or abolish the lawful authorities. To achieve this, according to Ilya Konstantinov, "it is not necessary to bring in tanks and troops to Moscow: there are a million different methods for paralyzing the work of the representative bodies"—for example, to rob them of their offices or to issue an edict restricting the freedom of travel for the deputies, whom the NSF urges to convene a regular congress. Depending on the urgency of the situation, the opposition plans to take measures it considers necessary ranging from guarding the White House and the deputies to launching what is internationally termed a "civil disobedience campaign," which would include mass protest actions and work stoppages. A plan for the mobilization of the opposition is to be made public in the near future. Regarding the presidential edict that calls for a constitutional conference to be convened, the NSF leader said that it "was at odds with the current legislation," and called on the Constitutional Court to

pay attention to the actions by the presidential camp. According to Ilya Konstantinov, Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin, harassed by the press, has recently become more cautious, but the opposition leader expressed his confidence that "comes the critical moment, Valeriy Zorkin will be up to the occasion."

All-Russia Poll Shows 'Sinking Trust' in Government

PM1705112793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Incidentally..."]

[Text] The Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology has conducted a poll of an all-Russian sample based on 2,000 people.

Do you consider that the government speaks the truth almost always, in the majority of cases, only in some cases, or almost never? [in percentages] Almost always: 5.4
In the majority of cases: 14.6
Only in some cases: 44.8
Almost never: 26.3
Don't know: 8.9

Sinking trust in the government is also a sign of the general crisis. However, it is easier to live in a world of illusions than to set to rights the lives of millions of people.

Economic Issues

Paper Cites Quest for Optimum Economic Model

PM1405164393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Russian Federation Government Racks Its Brains Over an Optimum Economic Model"]

[Text] At a session of the Russian Federation Government, held 13 May on Old Square under the chairmanship of V. Chernomyrdin, the main topic of discussion was the draft federal program for the structural restructuring of the economy in the period through 1995 and a package of targeted federal programs.

These documents were presented by the Ministry of the Economy. Work on them has been going on since fall of last year with the aim of drawing up measures for state influence on the economy and interrupting the dangerous trend of letting economic processes take their course.

As the speaker, Deputy Economy Minister I. Materov, stressed, fixed assets are under budgetary control, and this does not work according to the principle of who asks more often or more insistently, but via targeted federal programs. Back in February, the government determined priorities in the economy. In accordance with these, targeted programs were drawn up which have to be financed, he said. The modernization of industry remains the key problem. According to the Ministry of Finance, in the next few years Russia should travel the same path as the West traveled in 1973—it should sharply reduce the materials consumption and energy consumption involved in production. Otherwise, the speaker stressed, we will not have enough resources. We must arrive at a completely different type of economics. Naturally, to do this we need enormous investments, but it is impossible to achieve this amid inflation. Therefore the prime task is to deal with inflation. And the second problem is reducing the budget deficit, which is the main source of the growth of the state debt and the inflationary spiral.

Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin also noted: We must prevent the designated targeted programs from recurring in the form of the old Gosplan [State Planning Committee] system. They must be tied to priorities determined by the government and backed up by tough financial control. We must prevent assets and resources being handed out left, right, and center.

As a matter of fact, his worries were confirmed during the discussion. Thus, in his speech, Minister of Communications G. Fadeyev demanded that two departmental programs be included in this future plan of the structural economy so that by 1996 it will be possible to avoid dependence on Western railcar manufacturers. Of course these are important programs, but where would the resources come from to implement them?

The aim to reserve a place in the sun for specific departments in this program could also be traced in speeches made by other ministers. Yu. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, who was present at the session, criticized the program very resolutely for the reason that, he claims, a negative growth in production is planned, even in comparison with this year, never mind 1990. Vice Premier O. Lobov retorted on cue. He said specifically that Voronin had erred in his figures: It is more or less zero growth that is planned, not negative growth. Second, without renewing the fixed capital, which requires enormous investments, it is impossible to increase the volume of production. According to him, two options are being elaborated for this purpose, which will be presented to the government.

In the heat of the discussion, Chernomyrdin, who as a rule is not indifferent to the innumerable sore points in the economy, threw into the heated debate the remark: "Hey you guys, we must stop and think...." It is hard to say how intensely Vice Premier A. Shokhin was thinking at the time, but he expressed himself in terms which no doubt are capable of leading to a positive result. He stressed in particular that in the face of an acute shortage of investment funds it is impermissible to start tackling a broad range of programs and give them all a bit of funding. You have to look to the future: Which sectors are important to society and promise a technological

breakthrough in the future. That is where the bulk of the money should go. That will comprise the restructuring of the economy. He was supported by S. Vasilyev, leader of the Working Center for Economic Reforms. He noted in particular that the program—which was initially developed by this center—has changed from structural restructuring to a compilation of departmental targeted programs. Given the near-zero growth in production, where would the money for these programs come from, he said. We need a tough system of priorities, we must respect the list of programs, and not count purely on the federal budget but also on enterprise own resources. In addition to these warnings, the chairman of the Central Bank cited the following figures: Today the budget deficit in Russia is 2.2 trillion rubles. Certain wise men from the Ministry of Finance, he said, assess this deficit at 7 trillion by the end of the second quarter. Together with the government we must very carefully examine the mechanisms for allocating preferential credits for all kinds of programs, since their reimbursability is very low.

As a result of this impartial discussion, the Council of Ministers Presidium decided not to be hasty, and to do some more work on the program. Chernomyrdin stressed that this is only a concept of the program. Corrections will have to be made in the next month or two, taking into account all the observations made at the sitting, and it will have to be revisited.

Article Scores Chernomyrdin Economic Recovery Plan

PM1705110593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 93 pp 1, 2

[Tatyana Koryagina article commenting on speech by Russian Government Chairman V. Chernomyrdin to 12 May conference of leaders of Russian Federation soviets: "Prime Minister's Speech—An Account With a Noose Around Its Neck"]

[Text] The situation's uniqueness resides in the fact that "freedom of activity" for Yegor Gaydar and his reform-minded government team left the subsequent government no room for maneuver. The price of possible errors is now unbelievably high. Either the economy will be spared catastrophe, or the worst-case scenario will come about—its collapse, with the destruction of the vital sectors and spheres of the national economy. Here, in this extreme crisis situation, one task comes to the fore—to refrain from confusing causes with effects.

What are we looking at here? A fairly optimistic picture is sketched from the speech by the government chairman.

In our view, first of all the real state of affairs is not so favorable, and, second, the treatment prescribed (the struggle against inflation) threatens once again (as in 1992) to develop into a tool for destroying the economy. The lessons of 1992 showed just how dangerous it is to constrict the channels for the monetary backing of material output. In the production sphere, this leads sooner or later (sooner, generally) to dislocations in the production chains, the temporary or even total shutdown of enterprises, and unemployment. Moreover in the social sphere it leads to a sharp fall in living standards, a drop in purchasing power, and the impoverishment of a significant part of the population, and the population's poverty brings in its wake a sharp cut in demand for consumer goods and services; and the upshot is that the cause of the slump in production reoccurs.

The only way out of this defective paradigm of economic strategy is for the government to gamble on exports of raw materials, gold, and other national riches which are difficult to replenish. This tightens the noose around the necks of producers and population. Therefore, Viktor Chernomyrdin's recent speech on the state of and prospects for the Russian economy can be described as an account with a noose around its neck. So it is that the very extreme nature of the situation dictates a review of strategy.

The IMF and the Russian Government fear the budget deficit and an increase in the money in circulation. They consider these two factors to be the main sources of inflation. In fact, it is quite the opposite. In the United States, the budget deficit serves to satisfy the ongoing requirements of the national economy and the population in the period pending a return to economic growth.

We, too, in Russia have to create a springboard for economic growth immediately. Its structures should be, first, the stimulation of consumer demand and the consumer sector of the economy as a whole, and second, incentives for investment in those production units which give the fastest returns in respect of producing goods and services.

The gamble must be primarily on the state sector as the sector most easily reoriented with the aid of state policy. We have to rid ourselves of the illusion of easy solutions, first and foremost linked with the belief that privatization of the state sector will provide quick returns.

The main focus in the consumer sector should be on agricultural production. Here lies the key to restoring light industry and, most importantly, to completely eliminating the slightest chance of famine in Russia.

It is imperative to mention briefly the need to prepare a national agreement between the government, producers, and trade unions on prices and incomes. If our radical reformers really do think so much of M. Thatcher, whom I respect greatly, let them draw from the experience of Great Britain, where a policy of freezing prices and wages was employed on more than one occasion to tackle inflation. There is something to be learned here.

Government Reaffirms Support for Small Businesses

LD1705095193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0849 GMT 17 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—The Russian Government through its resolution has reaffirmed "priority measures for the development and state support to small business". In the document, signed by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on May 11, the state support to small business has been called "one of the most important directions of economic reforms." A provision has been made for preparing suitable legislations and changes in the existing laws within a short period.

They include such documents by means of which state guarantees to rights of entrepreneurs are established and introduces simplified procedure for the registration of enterprises and citizens wishing to take up entrepreneurial activities without forming juridical persons.

Enterprises, which work in priority spheres, have been specially singled out. Provisions have been made for giving them state assistance and concessions in the sphere of taxation, credits, foreign economic activities, payment of customs duties. For them additional export quotas (for sale by auction) of upto 1.3 million tonnes of petrol, 0.5 million tonnes of black oil and a variety of non-ferrous metals have been fixed for the current fiscal year.

Among priority directions are production and processing of agricultural produce, production of food stuffs and industrial goods, consumer goods, medicines and medical equipment, provision of production, municipal and day-to-day services, housing, industrial and public facilities construction and activities involving innovations. The resolution will not cover reorganized small state enterprises.

Zaveryukha Says Agricultural Situation 'Critical'

LD1405180993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1533 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Kakovkin]

[Text] Ryazan May 14 TASS—Despite certain positive tendencies Russian agriculture remains in a critical situation, according to Agricultural Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha.

The situation emerged because the state refused to support agricultural producers in 1992 and denied subsidies to them. Money shortages resulted in lower energy supplies in the countryside, construction work stalled, Zaveryukha told leaders and directors of enterprises of Ryazan in central Russia on Friday [14 May].

He added that the mistake is being corrected now and a realistic policy of land reform, which provides for all forms of property in the countryside, is being worked out.

Zaveryukha said it is inadmissible when Russian farmers cannot sell their produce because the market is stocked with imported food. Thus, agricultural producers in Ryazan failed to sell thousands of tonnes of top quality potatoes because the product was purchased in Poland. Similar examples concern grain, alcohol and other agricultural produce.

Zaveryukha promised to try and decrease taxes for farmers and work to increase their economic interest.

Economist Refutes Claims of End to Slump

PM1705091193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 13 May 93 p 7

[Pavel Bunich article: "Has the Decline in Production Come to an End? No, It's Just a Dream..."]

[Text] People have been talking about the recession in our economy for a long time, but what are its causes? In my opinion, these are now becoming much clearer. I would say the main reasons are as follows.

The old economic ties have come crashing down, but new ones have not yet arisen. The former could be created by an order from above within the space of a month: Everyone was told that A must go to B and B must go to C, and so on. Now it is impossible to order anybody to go anywhere. Entrepreneurs are therefore seeking each other out. Consequently a certain process of disintegration has already been built into this search.

The curtailment of exports and imports has had a major impact on the health of the economy, moreover. I am referring to exports to more distant countries, our new foreign neighbors, and East European countries. At the same time we are experiencing a hunger for imports from all these regions. Moreover, we ourselves are fueling this since we are exporting goods which we must subsequently purchase abroad. This is the case, for example, with oil, copper, nonferrous metals, and fertilizers. Oil exports from Russia grew by 50 percent in a year. That is to say oil is certainly not trickling into other countries. One result of the hunger for imports is that cotton fabric production has fallen by two-thirds.

A phenomenon that is new to us—the closure of environmentally harmful production facilities—is also having an impact on the state of the economy. We almost never used to do this: We used to say that other people's environments were polluted, but not ours.

Under the distributive system everybody tried to stretch out a little further and rake in a bit more—equipment, buildings, facilities, raw materials, manpower—and this always created a shortage of everything because everybody had a boundless appetite; that is, we lived in conditions of overproduction of goods which nobody needed. But can it be considered a negative phenomenon if an enterprise which is closing because it manufactures unwanted products is making its contribution to the current recession?

Output of goods is also influenced by high prices which are inaccessible to us. The goods therefore find no market and production of them decreases. But in my view this is far from being the main reason for the drop in our production, which is what a number of economists are claiming. Admittedly, throughout the world prices find their own level with respect to each other, from the extractive sector through final production. They are all as it were squeezed into a small range, more or less even, but not sloping. In our country, however, the extractive sectors are starting to rob the rest. It is the manufacturing production facilities that are choking, they cannot sell their goods on the market. They have to spend too much on raw materials and equipment.

Finally, unfortunately for us we are now suffering from a high level of depreciation of equipment and buildings—in a nutshell, the depreciation of our fixed capital. Right now we also have new production facilities, but we are burdening ourselves with the heavy weight of long obsolete facilities which not infrequently are some 80-90 percent worn out.

As you can see, the recession has been caused by various factors. Today people are coming up with the idea that we have already reached the stabilization phase. Is this really so? Let us recall that between 1990 and 1992, according to the most modest estimates, we witnessed a 30-percent decline.

Let us assume that we have stopped at this level, but what indication is there that this is the case? Last year nonferrous metal production fell by 32 percent, mineral fertilizers by 25 percent, oil by 16 percent, and light industry products by 37 percent including a 45-percent decline in footwear production. But is it really true that we do not need any of these goods? For example, our cupboards are not overflowing with clothes, and people certainly do not have eight or 10 pairs of shoes each.

Machine tool manufacture dipped by 33 percent, although we should not fret about this too much: Last year we churned out machine tools such as tractors without taking into account whether they were needed or not. Moreover the quality of these tools left much to be desired. Meanwhile we have started to produce just over 30 percent less lumber at a time when we need so much of it for construction purposes!

Can we talk in this situation about a possible growth of production in at least some areas? Apparently we can. It seems amazing but we have begun to produce more ferrous metals. Production of railcars, trucks, metal structures, refrigerators and televisions, household goods, and building materials has increased. Growth has also been noted in the food industry.

Overall, however, machine building has declined. This means that we have begun to make fewer aircraft, helicopters, and other products. Chemistry and petrochemistry have fallen on hard times. Production in the lumber and pulp and paper industries is continuing to fall.

There are therefore no grounds for drawing a rosy picture and getting excited about a momentary stabilization. Incidentally, even this has been achieved at the painful price of enormous inflation.

So what is worse—recession or inflation? I think this is a question of degree: The slump has come to a barely perceptible halt, whereas inflation has made gigantic strides. In fact the government basically obtained free credit in March worth 1.3 trillion rubles [R] from the Central Bank, and when they agreed to allocate R3 trillion for the second quarter of the year, everyone rejoiced, but this is an enormous sum, you know. In my opinion it will increase over these three months; there is no way the amount will go down. As far as enterprises are concerned, they were already in debt to the tune of R9 trillion! The figure itself indicates that we will never get these credits back.

So does it make any difference what we die of—a heart attack or a stroke? It seems to me that we have paid dearly for the slowing of the recession which has become apparent of late. Therefore many economists believe that it is better to allow production to decline further on a small scale than to put up with this crazy inflation.

According to government outlines, the volume of industrial production will decline by 15 percent this year. Can we square this figure with talk of stabilization? If we can, then only in terms of momentum. That is to say we are talking about very precarious stabilization. Which means that if we add to this 15 percent the rate of decline witnessed over the last three years, we end up with more than 40 percent. Incidentally, this is the biggest rate of decline in world experience. Just think how low Polish production sank and still it did not reach this level.

Military Issues

Grachev Signs Order on Compulsory Insurance for Servicemen

LD1405130593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, has signed an order on compulsory state and private insurance and the procedure for paying out one-time allowances to servicemen, citizens summoned for training courses, and members of their families. Commenting on the document, Colonel General Vasiliy Vorobyev, the head of the main directorate for military budget and finance, noted that this is yet another step aimed at implementing the law on the status of servicemen. All insurance payments are to be carried out by a military insurance company. The procedure for payments and the amount of compensation are defined by an instruction attached to the Defense Ministry order which is to be circulated among military subunits.

'Red Space' Program on Space Defense Systems

LD1505133093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0750 GMT on 15 May broadcasts its 30-minute "Red Space" program entitled "Secret Space—Part 1," which is about space defense systems.

The program begins in the Kometa Central Science Production Association, a space research center. A variety of unidentified equipment is shown.

Academician Anatoliy Savin, the general designer and general director of the center, is interviewed and explains that for the past 30 years he has been working in the sphere of rocket guided weapons and space surveillance systems. These have now become most important from the point of view of supporting the strategic balance and thus preventing nuclear war, he said.

The program flashes back briefly over the growth of the nuclear threat in recent decades. The scientists who are interviewed during the program are then flashed up in succession, together with captions. Some scientists are shown at work, more apparatus is shown.

The program recaps the accumulation of weapons in the Cold War years, showing archive pictures. It says that in spite of the recent changes in strategy, the quantity and power of existing weapons is still great, and the nuclear danger remains. So surveillance and monitoring of all these matters is still very much on the agenda. Unique global surveillance systems have been developed in Russia to envisage all situations and enemy actions and warn of a nuclear strike.

The narrator says that five global systems form the basis of resources for supporting the strategic balance: the first is a global system of constant surveillance over missile dangerous areas of the earth's surface. The video shows explanatory diagrams, and pictures of equipment for receiving satellite data. Chief designer Konstantin Vlasko-Vlasov explains the system in general terms, while the video shows aerial pictures and pictures of satellite equipment.

The second system, the narrator continues, is a system for detecting falling warheads, guiding anti-ballistic missiles toward them and destroying them. An example is the American Patriot system, or Russia's S300 missiles. The video shows these systems in action.

The narrator then describes various aspects of a single global surveillance system, designed to monitor surface, naval, and air sites. A system for monitoring the sea from space allows the world's oceans to be surveyed in all conditions, the narrator says. This is carried out by a remote control satellite apparatus. A second system monitors dangerous underwater areas. Chief designer of this system Sergey Mishukov explains the principle of this system, adding that it has great possibilities for peaceful application as well. The video shows aerial pictures and shots of equipment and personnel receiving satellite data, as well as various archive pictures of naval facilities.

The narrator says that new methods for detecting anomalous underwater phenomena have important applications in oceanography and ecology as well. Professor Valeriy Bondur, a chief designer in the Kometa Association, shows the new equipment in action, and the video shows scientists studying computer data gathered by the new system. The narrator also adds that economic difficulties have prevented the underwater surveillance system from being properly implemented so far.

A system for monitoring strategic aviation aircraft, the narrator says, is also being held back by economic difficulties. He explains briefly the use of detailed land surveillance systems, including photographic, optical, and electronic, and radio technical satellites. The video shows a variety of receiving equipment.

A system for influencing space installations has been developed and is functioning, the narrator continues. Its purpose is to detect and strike [porazheniye] military installations in space. The video shows diagrams of how the system works. It is the first of its kind.

The fifth and final system, the narrator says, is intended for action in conditions of war. It should monitor the consequences of the direct use of weapons of mass destruction. Its technical resources also allow the detection of radioactivity levels and effects of chemical and bacteriological weapons. In peacetime the system can be used to solve ecological problems and monitor emergencies. The video shows aerial pictures of craters and scientists analyzing radiation levels and working from computer data.

Over archive military pictures and more pictures of scientists, the narrator poses the question of whether all this equipment is still needed in the new world situation. Chief system designer Leonid Legezov says the effective use of space systems during the war in Iraq indicated that it is. He says the role of space research would have to change. In particular there are interesting ideas connected with removal of dangerous debris from space. The narrator adds that ecological projects are already being developed under the Sirius Program. He goes on to outline a number of other conversion applications, and chief designer of the sea monitoring system Gleb Zotov explains other economic applications of this system. The program ends with reflections on Russia's changing role in the world, over assorted archive military pictures and news clips.

The process of rapprochement with the West is irreversible, the narrator says, however, opposition to this remains on both sides, obstructing genuine legal parity. Ukraine refuses to ratify START I and give up its nuclear weapons. The present Russian Parliament will not ratify START II. However, moves toward consensus and peace continue, the program concludes.

Supreme Soviet

Proceedings of 14 May Session Reported

New Media Committee Appointed

LD1505131993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian Supreme Soviet has approved the list of members of the new parliamentary committee on the mass media. It lists 18 people, including Deputies Mikhail Astafyev, Viktor Biketov, and Aleksandr Kopeyko. It will be chaired by Vladimir Lisin, former chairman of the previous Russian Supreme Soviet committee for the mass media that was abolished two weeks ago.

The list of the committee members was approved by the majority of deputies. However, many parliamentarians have different views. The committee will not include former members of the previous committee, such as Kurkova, Poptsov, Nosovets, Mikailov, Mishustina, and other deputies who fought for freedom of press.

In the view of Deputy Nosovets, the new committee's first actions could be attempts to give the appearance of legitimacy to the assault on the freedom of speech.

Budget Law Approved

LD1405123993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1201 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The Russian parliament, keen on opposing President Yeltsin's every move, has approved the law on the republic's budget of the Russian Federation for 1993 which the president earlier returned to the legislature to be amended. This time the parliament, elected in the Soviet era, incorporated in the final text some of the changes suggested by the president, including formulations about income from the sell-off of federal property and a list of protected budget articles.

However, most of Yeltsin's corrections were turned down by a majority vote. The parliament voted down the proposed cut in the earmarking of funds for fundamental research, state scientific and technological programs and state investments. It also rejected the president's proposal to lift the cap of the state internal debt from 10 trillion to 13 trillion roubles.

In a continued dispute about who controls the media, the parliament also refused to heed the president's proposal to delete from the final text the line on stopping, as of March 1, 1993, the financing of the Federal Information Centre of Russia.

Yeltsin Amendments Rejected

MK1505132093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 15 May 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Slavuk, Aleksandr Sergeyev report published in the "Supreme Soviet on the Budget" column: "Parliament Reminds President of His April Edicts"]

[Text] In a repeat consideration of the Russian law "On the Republic Budget of the Russian Federation for 1993," the Supreme Soviet refused to approve the majority of amendments proposed by the president. The parliament yesterday thereby confirmed its unwillingness to seek compromise with the executive branch in matters of financing both the national economy as a whole and particular governmental structures. Members of the Supreme Soviet not only confirmed their refusal to make budget appropriations for the Federal Information Center, but also tightened the conditions for extending credits to the government.

The repeat consideration was prompted by the president's refusal to sign a law on the republic's budget adopted on 25 March and its return for further consideration with 14 amendments suggested. The president's main remarks, which bear the strong imprint of Vice Premier Boris Fedorov, boil down to the following. In the president's opinion, the final version of the law that was sent to him for signing increases the volume of expenditures of the republic budget, "in violation of the procedures provided for by the law," by 110.2 billion rubles [R]. This includes: R20 billion in additional funds for science and R83.2 billion for state investments. This question was not put to a vote at the session, and the presidential side deemed the appearance of such figures arbitrary. Since the maximum deficit established by the law at R7.235 trillion has in this case been exceeded by only 1.5 percent, under different circumstances the Supreme Soviet and the government could have settled this question at the working level with the decision being subsequently approved at a session as a matter of course. Such resolutions have occurred since 1990. KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts believe that underlying the president's accusation of fraud publicly leveled at the parliament is a purely political calculation—to undermine the authority of the Supreme Soviet in its present composition as a guarantor of the observance of legality in the country. The latter in fact was the cornerstone in Ruslan Khasbulatov's propaganda campaign in the run-up to the referendum.

The president sharply objected to the Supreme Soviet's instructions to the government designed to enable the local budgets to retain not less than 60 percent of minimum revenues in the budget at the corresponding level. In Economy Ministry experts' opinion, which coincides with the viewpoint of the Finance Ministry, this decision prevents the government from mobilizing budgetary resources to finance selective structural policy projects. In this connection the president also proposed that the interest rate established by the Central Bank for

the government for investment and conversion programs be revised. Otherwise the current 100 percent rate would require the payment in 1993 of R700 billion in reimbursement of credit and about R600 billion in interest payments.

The parliament's reaction to the proposals made by the president has been unusually tough. The parliamentarians refused to increase the ceiling on the internal state debt from R10 trillion to R13 trillion, substantiating this by the fact that the president's April edicts have cost the country R3.913 trillion. According to the parliament speaker, the government's performance in the first months of this year has already set the budget back "by between R3 trillion and R10 trillion." In view of this, the government's proposal that the Pension Fund grant it interest-free credit was rejected. Formally this proposal by the president will be taken into account—the credit would be extended but it would have to be repaid, which fully corresponds to the law adopted at the same session on repealing an earlier adopted decision on a gratuitous allocation of R52 billion from the Pension Fund's assets to finance the government's social expenditures. Along with its adamant commitment to make available credits to the government only at a refinancing rate, this Supreme Soviet decision places before the Council of Minister a dilemma: Either, in execution of the president's April edicts, to increase the state debt sharply; or, by tightening financial policy, to deem these edicts part of the propaganda campaign in the run-up to the referendum.

Ryabov Backs Yeltsin on Constitution

LD1405124493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1202 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—An unexpected move to end the war of the constitutions was made on Friday [14 May] by Deputy Chairman of the Russian Parliament Nikolay Ryabov.

He told legislators the initiative of President Boris Yeltsin to convene a constitutional conference to discuss changes to draft constitution is "justified" and said the conference does not mean an end to the work of the Constitutional Commission.

Steps towards each other are necessary both from the president and the parliament, Ryabov said, adding that two draft constitutions "would do no good".

He said that the opinions of Russian republics are very important and added that the Constitutional Commission should participate in the conference.

Parliament members were offered to discuss a draft resolution offering to legislators of Russian republics to submit their proposals on the parliamentary draft constitution before June 1 and send their envoys to work on the draft.

Legislators continue discussing the proposal.

Domestic Program Considered

LD1405163493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Parliament continued its work in the Russian capital today. During today's session the federal budget for this year was discussed and approved. Parliamentary correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov reports:

[Begin Osipov recording] Today's proceedings first and foremost concern crediting conversion programs and the mechanism of paying off the state debt on the Harvest-90 checks. Unfortunately, the Supreme Soviet did not meet the government half-way; therefore, from now on defense enterprises undergoing conversion will receive credits on hard rather than preferential terms.

In addition, the parliament insisted that the Finance Ministry and government as a whole pay off their debts to rural inhabitants using goods and not monetary compensation. According to Deputy Finance Minister Sergey Dubinin this will lead to negative effects—as evident in the past when goods did not reach the customer. Nevertheless, the government is prepared to discuss with the Supreme Soviet a special resolution on disputed issues. Dubinin said that by June the federal budget would be recalculated taking inflation into account. At the same time, Dubinin admitted criticism with respect to improving the structure of the budget message and noted it would be taken into consideration while preparing the 1994 budget.

Among other noteworthy items discussed by the parliament is the approval of new members of the media committee. Reading out the list, chairman Vladimir Lisin said the committee's former members: Zbronzhko, Mikailov, Mishustina, Nosovets, Kurkova, Poptsov, and Bragin had not been included in the committee. Talking about them was not worth it—that was how he commented on the fact. The new composition includes Astafyev, Plotnikov, Beketov, Yudin, and other deputies known for their aggressive attitude toward television and the radio.

It seems there will be a serious discussion of the measures for providing key amenities for Russian troops now being withdrawn from other states. This is a difficult discussion since two committees have not considered the issue.

At the end of the morning sitting Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, touched on constitution issues. He supported the president's idea to convene a constitutional assembly. [end recording]

Constitutional Process Debated

LD1405161093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1438 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Ivan Novikov and Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 14 May—The new constitution is intended to ensure a smooth transition of Russian society to the condition of new statehood. This idea was the main point of the speech made by Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, at today's session of the Russian Parliament during the discussion of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's draft resolution "On the Procedure of Taking Account of the Proposals of the Russian Federation's Subjects on the Draft New Russian Federation Constitution" prepared by the Russian Federation Constitutional Commission.

Having noted that there is a great need to take account of the proposals of the Russian Federation subjects in drawing up a new constitution, Nikolay Ryabov touched upon the practical mechanism for creating the new basic law. In order to make the work on the new constitution fruitful, he noted, there is a strong need to take steps both by the Russian president and the Supreme Soviet to meet halfway. In connection with this Nikolay Ryabov called Boris Yeltsin's intiative on convening a constitutional conference "fully justified." He pointed out that the latter does not mean that the Constitutional Commission is to curtail its work. Its members could become part of the body which is being set up.

Is there a possibility of amalgamating the two constitutional processes—parliament's and the president's—into one? Most of the deputies who took part in the debate that followed answered this question affirmatively, but with the significant proviso that it be accomplished on the basis of relying on the law and the bodies of representative power. Speaking in conclusion Nikolay Ryabov clarified his position, stressing that he "was not calling for an infringement of the country's basic law in the preparation of a draft new constitution." At the same time he does not see any infringement of the constitutional process, "if the Supreme Soviet is involved in the formation of a constitutional conference and its work." Parliamentary observers considered this statement by the deputy speaker as a "call for a split" in the Supreme Soviet leadership, as Ruslan Khasbulatov in summing up the debate stated firmly that "it is necessary to act within the framework of the Constitution and without setting up any new structures designated as 'constitutional' ones." The chairman of the Supreme Soviet proposed that in developing a mechanism for the adoption of a new constitution the mechanism for coordinating positions that existed during the conclusion of the Federation Treaty be taken as a model.

At the end of almost five hours of debate the deputies rejected the draft parliamentary resolution put forward by the Constitutional Commission.

Further on Constitutional Commission Working Group

PM1305141793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary press service report: "Oleg Rumyantsev, Constitutional Commission Senior Secretary: We Must Avoid Constitutional Warfare"]

[Text] A conference of the Constitutional Commission working group was held at the Supreme Soviet 11 May. Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet and of the Constitutional Commission; Oleg Rumyantsev, senior secretary of the Constitutional Commission; and Viktor Sheynis, deputy senior secretary, spoke at it.

Oleg Rumyantsev reported that the conference had elaborated a coordinated line aimed at preventing a "two constitutions" situation: "We must avoid constitutional warfare at all costs," he said. "Any other approach is a dead-end."

In the opinion of the working group members, the legitimate draft previously submitted by the president and ratified by the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies and the Constitutional Commission should be used as the basis. In finalizing it the commission deemed it possible and necessary to use certain provisions of the draft constitution submitted by the president in late April.

A timetable for the work on finalizing the draft constitution was laid down. A conference of the leaders of the soviets of Federation components will be [as published] held 12 May. The Supreme Soviet will discuss the draft decree "On the Procedure for Taking Account of Federation Components' Proposals on the Draft Constitution" on 14 May. Parliamentary hearings will be held 25 May at which questions of the procedure for adopting the main provisions of the draft constitution will be discussed.

A constitutional conference with the president is slated for 1 June. In Oleg Rumyantsev's opinion, it could play a positive role. Representatives of Federation components, all branches of power, leading political parties, and members of the Constitutional Commission should take part in it. The conference should resolve two issues—the coordination of the draft constitutional provisions and further work on the text of the best aspects of the two drafts.

In early June it is planned to hold a plenary session of the Constitutional Commission to adopt a decision on the further progress of the official draft.

The Constitutional Commission will systematically inform the public about the progress of work on the draft constitution.

Deputy Chairman Ispravnikov Interviewed

LD1505032493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 13 May carries the live or recorded "Without Retouching" program with Vladimir Olegovich Ispravnikov, deputy chairman of Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, in conversation with journalists from IZVESTIYA, KOMMERSANT DAILY,

VEK, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Radio Liberty, NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA, TRUD, BUSINESS MOSCOW NEWS, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, and SEGODNYA.

Moderator Sergey Torchinskiy begins by explaining the show's format. Ispravnikov declines to make any opening address and moves on to a session of questions and answers.

The first question is on the role of the Supreme Economic Council and whether it is feasible for a multifaction parliament to have a single economic policy. Ispravnikov says the Supreme Economic Council is an expert analytical body attached to the Supreme Soviet with the purpose of assessing draft legislative acts and monitoring the implementation of legislation in the regions. "In the run-up to every Congress of People's Deputies, we prepared a package of measures and proposals that we then submitted to the president, to the government, to the Supreme Soviet, and to the Congress," he says, adding that the parliament's expert analytical basis should be further enhanced.

Aleksandra Lugovskaya from IZVESTIYA asks Ispravnikov why, while democrats are being removed from leading positions in parliament, he is moving in the opposite direction, having recently been elected deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Ispravnikov says that he did a lot of thinking before accepting the new post. "In the end I went for it without reservation. First, because I was supported by a number of factions, i.e. a number of my colleagues who share my views. Second, you know, democracy today is first of all representative power, the legislature, the parliament. If there is no parliament, there is no democracy." It would have been wrong to abandon parliament in the present difficult conditions, he says, adding: "I will do everything in my power to let the shoots of representative power we have generated in those democratic transformations to grow, to spread, and to become a pledge for the future progress of our society and our country."

Lugovskaya then asks whether the fact that Khasbulatov has his own concept of economic reform hindered Ispravnikov as a scholar to pursue his course in parliament. Ispravnikov says that parliament is characterized by a plurality of opinions and the point is to find common ground to contribute to the progress of economic reform. He would like to see the Supreme Economic Council promote cooperation between the executive and the legislature, he says, "but I can see that so far we have failed to secure fully such a role for the Supreme Economic Council. I think that today we are still determined to seek constructive ways of cooperation between the executive and the legislature, regardless of the present situation. In the future, in a normal economic situation and in a normal political system, such bridges, such transitional organisms, will be vital."

Aleksandr Beker of SEGODNYA asks Ispravnikov's opinion on the decision adopted at the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies on the indexation of the people's savings. The deputy chairman says: "The congress' decision contained two principled points. The first point is that with regard to savings, the state should recognize its internal debt to its population." He goes on to note that "the second point is that we—the government, the Supreme Soviet, the Central Bank, and the Savings Bank—need to set up a joint working group and submit proposals."

He points out that "within the process of the reform we should set up a private credit market in order for these savings to start to work" and adds that "representatives of the Central Bank and the Savings Bank agree with many of our proposals."

Oleg Medvedev from KOMMERSANT-DAILY asks about the reasons for dissolving the committee for economic reform and other Supreme Soviet committees. Ispravnikov explains that, in keeping with the decision of the Supreme Soviet, the committee for economic reforms and property was reorganized into a commission of the Chamber of the Soviet of the Republic. He goes on to say that the process of reorganizing the parliament is under way and that this is why this decision was made. He personally would have liked to see this commission as "a commission for supporting new economic structures and privatization," he says. He is sure that "all the committees of the Supreme Soviet should be involved in economic reform, but this committee should concentrate on rendering legislative support for new economic structures and privatization. The best forces and the best deputies should be concentrated there."

Mikhail Gurevich from MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS asks about "the race of draft constitutions" and Ispravnikov's forecasts on possible outcomes. The deputy chairman says that the Constitution should reflect all the legal and democratic heritage accumulated by our transformations. He goes on to say that today we speak about two drafts—the presidential and parliamentary drafts—but that in fact both drafts are presidential ones. "The first draft is the draft of the Constitutional Commission, the chairman of which is Boris Yeltsin," he points out. The second draft appears to be and is alleged to be recommended by him as well. Ispravnikov would like them both be called presidential drafts. Normal constructive work should be set in motion as "both drafts contain some positive and negative points. These should be discussed and eliminated, and the constitution should be adopted in a legal constitutional way," he says. He goes on to say that "the Constitution is the basis for legal changes. It is the fundamental law of our life. Clear procedures and clear mechanisms are needed here, so that no proportion of the population—especially a half—will not say now or later that the adopted Constitution is illegitimate" or was adopted by "anticonstitutional methods."

VEK's Natalya Aleyeva wants to know when the budget of Russia will be approved and the reasons for it being

delayed. Ispravnikov says that the president's amendments, which he sent to the parliament after the budgetary message was adopted, will be discussed tomorrow. He criticizes the procedure for submitting the budget to parliament and how it is adopted and quotes that there is a Russian law on the budget in accordance with which the first version of the budget for the next year should be submitted in May, then in September, and the final version should be submitted and adopted in October. At best the first version of a budgetary message is received in parliament in November or December. The work of parliamentary commissions and committees is made extremely difficult.

Nikolay Dorofeyev from TRUD wants to know how successful economic reforms can be in a situation featuring a most acute political confrontation. Ispravnikov notes that it is impossible to completely separate the economy and politics. But today this confrontation stands in the way of "normal, well-balanced economic measures," he says. He thinks that procedures should be elaborated and worked through to enable a constructive, positive progress, but that this will be possible only when there is no "voluntarism and arbitrariness of individuals in our state and our society," but the rule of law.

Irina Satiyeva from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA points out that the Supreme Soviet is moving toward personalized privatization accounts and wants to know how this can be implemented in reality. Ispravnikov says:

"The presidential decree on privatization vouchers was issued in violation of the Russian law on personalized privatization accounts. Today it is clear—it was clear from the very beginning—that it was mainly a political decision. It was dictated by the political situation."

Only later were economic calculations used, he notes. He goes on to say that he saw an article in a rayon newspaper quoting Anatoliy Chubays as saying: "Today you have a voucher in hand. Tomorrow you will buy a share with this voucher, and you will receive dividends on this share." He describes this as a very dangerous psychology and cites how people understand the procedure for investing vouchers. Ispravnikov says that "it is a false premise, a false concept, for only 12 percent of our enterprises are profit-making enterprises. Naturally, one may be able to get dividends on the shares of these enterprises, but what about the rest?"

He goes on to say that a majority of people will not get any dividends on their shares and their vouchers right away and points out that methods need to be found to overcome this. One of the methods is to deal with the return to personalized privatization accounts. People would invest their vouchers in this account to enable them to take part in the process of taking property away from state control. There are other proposals, including the use of these vouchers in the process of reorganizing the Savings Bank. He sees it as the task of the bodies of administration and government to do everything possible for people who received vouchers not to be left with false hopes.

Regarding privatization, he stresses that "some part of the state property should not be privatized and should remain state property. A second proportion of state property should be privatized in accordance with the privatization program. The third proportion of the state property should be used to repay the state's internal debt to its population." He continues: "Finally, the fourth proportion of the property, I think, should be used to repay our foreign debts." He is convinced that vital amendments should be introduced to the current privatization program.

Igor Sechko of NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA asks Ispravnikov to imagine the parliament's response if in June the president were to convene a constitutional assembly which adopted a new constitution. Ispravnikov declined to hypothesize, saying:

"I don't think and I don't believe that anyone in parliament thinks that the Russian president, who was one of the first to proclaim the slogans of democracy, legality, and constitutional order, would take such anticonstitutional steps. I don't think so. I do think that whatever the circumstances, the procedure for adopting a constitution must be of a legitimate character."

The constitution could legitimately be adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies or by a referendum, he says, and he can see no reason why a congress should not adopt a new constitution if the normal procedures of coordinated work is observed in advance. If it did not adopt it, the constitution would become the subject of a referendum. Ispravnikov also suggests a third possibility, noting that "a law on elections could be adopted, as could a law on the federal bodies of power and government and a law on public and political movements and parties." He says: "Preterm elections could be held for both the president and the Supreme Soviet, i.e. parliament, and the new parliament could then adopt the new constitution."

Sechko then asks whether the people's vote of confidence in the current reforms in the April referendum had given him reason to think that the congress had made a mistake in forcing Yegor Gaydar's departure from the government. Ispravnikov replies that Yeltsin should have kept him in the cabinet and the government despite the objections of congress.

Dmitriy Volchek of Radio Liberty then asks why Ispravnikov attended a "right-wing opposition rally" on 9 May. Ispravnikov explains that while he attended in an official capacity, having been involved in drawing up documents to ensure that there was no repeat of the May Day violence, "in his heart of hearts" he was on the side of the veterans who had defended the country during World War II. "I have never categorized a single veteran as red-brown, gray, green, or whatever. To me they are

citizens, Russians, people of Russia, our fathers and grandfathers who have performed their sacred duty."

Since the events of 1 May are still under investigation, Ispravnikov declines to apportion any blame that might be based on rumor. All he can for certain, he says, is that a tragedy had occurred. "Naturally, as a deputy and as a citizen, I have done and will continue to do everything possible to prevent a single drop of blood being shed in Russia." He expresses personal pain over the thoughts of people "who call themselves democrats" and ignore the traditional stance that no reform is worth bloodshed. "We cannot progress through changes built on blood. We just cannot," he says.

Moderator Sergey Torchinskiy points out that the same people crop up at all the demonstrations. They engage in hooliganism, not politics, he says. Ispravnikov agrees, adding that the security services and the militia were obliged to find any such trouble-makers on May Day and isolate them from the main procession. The law must be obeyed in such circumstances, he notes, and the law is implemented by the executive. Parliament was quite right to say in its statement about the May Day events that "the executive power of the city of Moscow did not do all it could to avoid bloodshed." he says. As for parliament protecting the demonstrators, referring to a comment by Volchek, who had asked whether parliament was sheltering the organizers, Ispravnikov explains that when a mixed group of people turned up at the parliament building, someone had to protect them. Investigations could wait until later. Any instigators of the violence could then be punished in accordance with the law, he says.

Oleg Medvedev from KOMMERSANT-DAILY returns to his original question in an attempt to clarify how Ispravnikov reconciled his view that the significance of the tasks facing the parliamentary committee for economic reform meant that it should be regarded as a "leading" committee in parliament with the fact that it had been turned into a commission of one of the parliamentary chambers. Ispravnikov says:

"Since in the new constitutions, the draft constitution, we have a two-chamber parliament and the main role is being transferred to the chambers, it is obvious that the same trend is essential in the present parliament as well. Not only this committee but other commissions and committees are being reorganized so that the legislative role is being transferred to the chambers more and more."

Mikhail Gurevich of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS asks how Ispravnikov had found working with Ruslan Khasbulatov since becoming a deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet at the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies. Ispravnikov responds:

"Just as with any person in charge, I suppose. You know that Khasbulatov, like everyone else, has plenty of faults, but he has his good qualities as well. In my work I want above all, for example, to find the positive qualities of my colleagues—and my colleague the chairman of the Supreme Soviet—and to help these develop."

He has been able to do this, he says, pointing out that "at the same time, when we see negative features or shortcomings in one another, of course we talk about them. I will be so bold as to assure you that I speak directly and without beating about the bush to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet regarding the shortcomings that exist in parliament."

Ispravnikov tells the correspondent from NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA that he did not vote in the April referendum at all. He was unable to do so since, like most deputies, he had no permit to live, even temporarily, in Moscow. "For me the referendum is not a victory of any kind nor were there any vanquished. For me the referendum today is a series of new problems that have cropped up and have to be dealt with."

Aleyeva asks whether the recently adopted Law on Grain shows antimarket features. Exchanges are unable to set prices for grain, for instance. If it does show such features, notes Ispravnikov, so do many of the government's actions. However, he considers grain to be a "strategic commodity," adding that there is nothing wrong in a law being introduced to deal with it. It is a law to be amended as the situation changed.

The final question concerns the creation of a Russian-Latin American Bank, initiated several months earlier. Ispravnikov confesses himself to be as surprised as Torchinskiy that nothing has not yet been done to open up this potential market and amazed at the decision-making delays in the government and at the Central Bank.

Decree on Enacting Moscow Status Law

PM1305094593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 May 93 First Edition p 14

[Decree of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "On the Procedure for Enacting the Russian Federation Law 'On the Status of the Russian Federation Capital'"; dated 15 April 1993 and signed by Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman R.I. Khasbulatov]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decrees that:

1. The Russian Federation Law "On the Status of the Russian Federation Capital" shall come into effect from the moment it is published.

2. The Russian Federation Government shall with the participation of the organs of state power of the city of Moscow and Moscow Oblast ensure the preparation and submission in line with established procedure prior to 1 June of proposals on the following questions:

demarcation of state property into federal property, city of Moscow property, and Moscow Oblast property;

preparation of a list of installations essential for the execution of the powers of the federal organs of state power;

establishment of the boundaries of plots of land occupied by buildings, structures, and installations under the jurisdiction of federal organs of state power and the missions of Russian Federation constituent republics, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and the city of St. Petersburg;

definition of a procedure whereby the Moscow Oblast organs of state power will assist in the city of Moscow's execution of its functions as capital of the Russian Federation;

definition of a procedure whereby the city of Moscow will be reimbursed all expenses connected with the execution of its functions as capital of the Russian Federation and Moscow Oblast will be reimbursed all expenses connected with assistance rendered to the city of Moscow in executing its functions as capital of the Russian Federation.

3. It shall be established that:

the boundaries of territorial-administrative units, the representative organs of local self-government, and the structure of organs of executive power that exist in the city of Moscow at the moment of the enactment of the Russian Federation Law "On the Status of the Russian Federation Capital" shall remain in place prior to the coming into force of the city of Moscow Charter which is being adopted under Article 12 of the said law;

in the event of changes to rayon boundaries within the city of Moscow and the formation of municipal rayons prior to the election of a new convocation of soviets of people's deputies (municipal soviets), these soviets shall be formed from people's deputies of city rayon soviets elected in electoral districts located on the corresponding territories.

4. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Self-Government shall, with the participation of Moscow city organs of state power, within one month of the enactment of the Russian Federation Law "On the Status of the Russian Federation Capital" prepare and submit for approval by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet proposals on the procedure for agreeing the city of Moscow Charter under Article 12 of the said law.

5. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee shall, with the participation of Moscow city organs of state power, within one month of the enactment of the Russian Federation Law "On the Status of the Russian Federation Capital" prepare and submit to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet proposals on the boundaries of the territories indicated in Article 11 of the said law.

6. Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies shall formulate a draft city of Moscow charter within three months of the enactment of the Russian Federation Law "On the Status of the Russian Federation Capital."

7. The Russian Federation president shall be invited to bring the legal acts promulgated by him into line with the Russian Federation Law "On the Status of the Russian Federation Capital."

8. Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies and the administration of Moscow city shall within two months bring the acts adopted by them into line with the Russian Federation Law "On the Status of the Russian Federation Capital."

9. The following shall be deemed to have lapsed from the moment the Russian Federation Law "On the Status of the Russian Federation Capital" is enacted:

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the Status and Structure of the Administrative Organs of the City of Moscow—Capital of the RSFSR" dated 19 April 1991 (VEDOMOSTI SYEZDA NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV RSFSR I VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA RSFSR, No. 17, 1991, p 518);

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the Organization of Elections for Mayor of the City of Moscow 12 June 1991" dated 27 April 1991 (VEDOMOSTI SYEZDA NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV RSFSR I VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA RSFSR, No. 18, 1991, p 578);

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the Accession of City Mayors to Office" dated 24 June 1991 (VEDOMOSTI SYEZDA NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV RSFSR I VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA RSFSR, No. 26, 1991, p 884);

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On Demarcating Spheres of Competence of Organs of Power and Administration in the City of Moscow" dated 1 July 1991 (VEDOMOSTI SYEZDA NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV RSFSR I VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA RSFSR, No. 27, 1991, p 937).

[Signed] Chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet R.I. Khasbulatov

[Dated] Moscow, House of Soviets of Russia; 15 April 1993

No. 4803-1

Decree on Space Program, Industry

PM1305122793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 May 93 First Edition p 5

[Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree No. 4878-1 "On Measures to Stabilize the Situation in Space Science

and Industry," signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and dated Moscow, 27 April 1993]

[Text] With a view to preserving the intellectual, economic, and defense potential of space science and industry, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decrees that:

1. The Russian Federation Government shall:

make provision in the Russian Federation's draft budgetary system for the next financial year for appropriations to be allocated to the Russian space program as a separate line item [otdelnoy strokoy] to be indexed quarterly;

submit to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by 1 June 1993 the draft Russian Federal Space Program for space systems, complexes, and means with scientific, economic, and defense roles;

define the Russian Space Agency as the state customer for space systems, complexes, and means with scientific and economic roles, and—in conjunction with the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense—for space systems, complexes, and means used for both civilian and military purposes;

stipulate the direct allocation to the Russian Space Agency of appropriations for research and development work, the purchase and operation of space equipment, capital construction, the maintenance of ground-based space infrastructure installations, and other work under the Russian Federal Space Program to be carried out by the Russian Space Agency;

supply space projects financed out of the Russian Federation budget—specifically, space systems, complexes, and means with scientific and economic roles—with raw and other materials, equipment, components, and other material and technical resources under the procedure stipulated for state orders for arms and military equipment in accordance with the Russian Federation law "On Deliveries of Output and Goods for State Needs";

define a procedure for promoting the implementation of space projects using the funds of enterprises, organizations, and citizens, including the granting to them of state guarantees, soft loans, tax concessions, and other necessary measures;

elaborate a program of structural transformations in space science and industry, including the creation of federal space centers based on leading design bureaus and scientific research institutes as well as holding and joint-stock companies, taking account of their targeted financing, including funding from conversion funds;

examine the remuneration system for people employed in the space complex, taking account of the Unified Wage System and average pay levels in the Russian Federation;

elaborate a plan for the further utilization of ground-based space infrastructure installations—primarily the Plesetsk Space Center—taking account of the socioeconomic aspects of the development of the regions in question;

take measures to strengthen social protection for space center workers and specialists at enterprises and organizations engaged in the testing and operation of space equipment;

take the necessary measures to preserve the existing science and production links in the sphere of space activity in the CIS, including consultations with the Republic of Kazakhstan to clarify the status of and prospects for the further joint use of the Baykonur Space Center;

elaborate and ensure implementation of a unified scientific, technical, and economic policy when concluding and executing international agreements on space research and the use of space, including commercial space projects.

2. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic Commission for Transport, Communications, Information Technology, and Space, jointly with the Russian Space Agency, the Russian Academy of Sciences, and other interested departments, shall prepare proposals for the creation of a Russian Space Fund as an independent organization to concentrate funding from internal and external sources with a view to stimulating basic research, forming financial insurance reserves, introducing space technology into the national economy, and supporting measures to utilize the achievements of space science for public education and cultural purposes.

3. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, jointly with interested chamber standing commissions and Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committees, shall prepare materials on international agreements in the sphere of space activity with the participation of the Russian Federation for examination by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

4. A provisional deputies' group of representatives from interested chamber standing commissions and Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committees shall be set up with a view to strengthening parliamentary control of space activity.

The group's work shall be organized by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic Commission for Transport, Communications, Information Technology, and Space.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

[Dated] Moscow, House of the Soviets of Russia, 27 April 1993

No. 4878-1

Decree on Space Policy Priorities

PM1705111793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 May 93 First Edition p 5

[Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Statement No. 4879-1 "On the Priorities of Russian Federation Space Policy" dated Moscow, Russian House of Soviets, 27 April 1993]

[Text] For over 30 years space science in our country has served the interests of the state. Without it, communications and television broadcasting, navigation and meteorology, surveying and cartography, and many other sectors of the national economy would be inconceivable. Space technologies are something no progressive power can do without. It is hard to overestimate the importance of space systems in maintaining the country's defense capability.

Realizing its responsibility for preserving Russia's space potential and the extensive application of this potential in resolving the pressing problems of citizens and society as a whole, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet considers it necessary to state the priorities of space policy which are to be enshrined in Russian Federation legislation and consistently implemented in the day-to-day practice of the state administration of space activity.

1. Space activity in the Russian Federation is to be implemented with a view to ensuring the prosperity of citizens, the development of the Russian Federation, the strengthening of its security, and also resolving the global problems of humanity.

Russian space science should ensure:

—the equal right of Russian Federation enterprises, organizations, and citizens to participate in space activity and enjoy its results;

—access to information about space activity;

—restriction of monopolies and the development of entrepreneurial activity;

—independent expert analysis of space projects and programs;

—safety in space activity, including the protection of the environment.

2. Russia's federal space program is being organized in line with the requirements and economic resources of society and the state.

National economic space projects should be designed to tackle tasks with the greatest socioeconomic impact, primarily in the development of networks for receiving, processing, and transmitting information, communications, television broadcasting, environmental monitoring, and studying natural resources.

Work of an exploratory nature enabling fundamentally new tasks to be set and tackled, and also applied work commissioned by specific consumers, should be given priority in scientific space research.

Space activity for military purposes should be concentrated primarily on the use of space systems for military command and control, communications, intelligence, and other types of backup for the Armed Forces.

3. Structural transformations in space science are to be implemented taking into account the specific features of space science and industry and include the flotation and privatization of profitable production facilities. At the same time unique testing [stendovyy] equipment, and also space infrastructure installations with state significance, should remain within state ownership and be made available for use by interested enterprises and organizations.

During the economic reforms it is extremely important not to forfeit the intellectual property of enterprises, organizations, and citizens by taking part in space hardware and space technology developments.

The specific features of space activity—the intermingling of science and production, the protracted investment cycle and high degree of commercial risk, the difficulty of obtaining a direct return on invested capital, and the close link between domestic and foreign capital—require special economic approaches. Taking world experience into account, it is necessary to formulate a special system for granting loans to, levying taxes on, and offering state guarantees to enterprises and organizations working on space projects.

Strengthening Russia's positions in the world space market presupposes attracting foreign investment backed up by appropriate state guarantees, and also guarantees employing funds from the Russian enterprises and organizations concerned.

4. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet favors cooperation in opening up space with CIS member countries and the preservation and development of established scientific and production ties. Further steps must be taken to implement the Minsk Agreement on Joint Action To Study and Exploit Space, primarily as regards mechanisms for adopting mutually advantageous interstate space projects and their shared financing by the states, enterprises, and organizations concerned.

5. In issues of international relations connected with space activity, state policy is designed to support domestic enterprises and organizations, deepen international cooperation and integration in opening up space on a mutually advantageous basis, and ensure the fulfillment of Russia's obligations under international agreements.

[Signed] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

[Dated] Moscow, the Russian House of Soviets, 27 April 1993

No. 4879-1

Regional Affairs

Heads of Republics Criticize Yeltsin's Draft Constitution

MK1505095493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 May 93 p 1

[Unattributed report within "Document" rubric under general heading: "Presidential Draft and Regional Interests. Statement of Heads of Supreme Soviets of the Republics Within the Russian Federation on the New Draft Constitution and the Procedure for Its Adoption"]

[Text] The Russian Federation is experiencing a serious political and economic crisis. Political reform in Russia began with the First Congress of People's Deputies' adoption of the Declaration of the State Sovereignty of the Russian Federation. Its most important stages included the adoption of declarations on the state sovereignty of the republics and the signing of the Federation Treaty, which laid the groundwork for the development of the Russian federal state along treaty and constitutional lines.

The heads of republics believe that the new draft constitution of the Russian Federation proposed by the Russian president is yet another proof of the tenacious resistance to the creation of a real Federation. The draft does not take into account the historical and present realities of Russian statehood, drastic changes in the state and legal status of the republics within the Russian Federation, or their desire for renewing federal relations stemming from their constitutional development. It is entirely evident that the current legal status of the republics already laid down in their Constitutions that are currently in force is not legally provided for in the new draft constitution of the Russian Federation.

Although the Federation Treaty is included in the draft constitution, the first section of the draft in effect runs counter to its fundamental ideas and principles. It does not include the momentous provisions of the treaty stipulating that from the point of view of their state and legal status, the republics constitute sovereign states and that they have joined the Russian Federation voluntarily. The voluntary nature of the treaty-based division of powers between the center and the republics means that the republics retain complete state authority on their territories except for the rights they have delegated to the Russian Federation. Such a division of powers is a continuous process that cannot end in signing the Federation Treaty alone. It should be expanded further and laid down as a legal provision of the new draft constitution. But the proposed document fails to do this.

Another serious drawback of the draft is that, while justifiably paying attention to the rights and liberties of the individual, it effectively excludes the rights of peoples. The rights of peoples have been laid out in a number of international legal instruments, and some of them constitute the most important principles of international law. The first section of the new draft constitution lacks an article on the right of peoples to self-determination. Those who drew up the draft cannot but be aware of the fact that under the Declaration of State Sovereignty of the RSFSR one of the highest goals of declaring Russia's sovereignty was to give each people its inalienable right to self-determination "in the national-state or national-cultural form they may choose."

The heads of the republics believe that the concept and contents of the first section of the new draft constitution in effect run counter to the essence of the Federation Treaty. It is an obvious attempt to ignore the previously reached agreements and effectively to annul the treaty.

Meanwhile, the general significance of the Federation Treaty is that it is in effect a political and legal instrument setting forth federal relations in Russia and, therefore, it should become the basis for drawing up a new constitution of the Russian Federation. A consistent implementation of the treaty may only be ensured if its provisions are further specified. Hence, it was entirely logical that the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies made a decision with regard to the need for preparing a package of legislative acts on the mechanism for the implementation of the Federation Treaty. In our view, the adoption of a new constitution without taking into account the need for carrying out all the provisions of the Federation Treaty and without legally laying down a new federal relationship threatens to harm the formation of a genuinely federal state in Russia.

When even the current Constitution fails to give a clear definition of a republic as a sovereign state, does not specifically define the rights of krays, oblasts, and other components of the Federation, when the system and structure of state authority and government in the republics of the Russian Federation is not linked to the state structure of Russia, when a mechanism for ensuring the unity of the state is yet to be devised, it is more than premature to speak of the immediate adoption of a new Constitution. Russia faces a dilemma: either, while consistently realizing the ideas and principles of the Federation Treaty, it becomes a truly functioning democratic, federal state that actually recognizes the state sovereignty of its republics and does not merely pay lip service to the idea; or it turns into a unitary, authoritarian state, which is what is meant, in effect, in the first section of the new draft constitution of the Russian Federation.

As for the procedure for the adoption of a new Russian constitution, the heads of the republics are unanimous in stating that any unconstitutional method of its adoption is unacceptable for the sovereign states that are components of the Russian Federation.

Criticism Analyzed

MK1505101093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 May 93 p 1

[Radik Batyrshin report within "Opinion" rubric under general heading: "Presidential Draft and Regional Interests. Statement of Heads of Supreme Soviets of the Republics Within the Russian Federation on the New Draft Constitution and the Procedure for Its Adoption"]

[Text] The overactive promotion of the presidential draft of a new Russian constitution appears to have been counterproductive. The leaders of the former autonomies have waited too long for the Russian president to fulfill his pledge to transform the Federation Treaty into a real document. After 25 April, Boris Yeltsin once again needed the influence of the leaders of the periphery, but he was not quick enough to pay his old debts.

The published statement may be considered a sort of consumer's complaint sent by the republics to the president. The heads of the Supreme Soviets of 11 out of 19 Russian republics have in effect turned down the presidential draft constitution and "the unconstitutional methods of its adoption" by a constitutional assembly, the Council of the Federation, and so forth. In addition, Tatarstan took a special stance, refusing to consider any drafts of a new constitution of the Russian Federation as long as they fail to incorporate provisions on the status of relations between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation (see NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA No. 88). It should be recalled that the republics have virtually buried the official (parliamentarian, or Rumyantsev's) draft of the new Russian constitution as well. Contrary to the calculations of the presidential draft's authors, the fact that they included in it the Federation Treaty (as a matter of fact, in a very abridged form) did not cause the former autonomies to embrace the draft. This is confirmed by the statement published here, which by the time the report was sent to the newspaper was signed by the leaders of the Supreme Soviets of Adygeya, the Republic of Altay, Bashkortostan, Karelia, Komi, Mariy El, Mordovia, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Tuva, Udmurtia, and Khakassia.

Political Confrontation Continues in Chechen Republic

LD1705102793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0947 GMT 17 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asyev]

[Text] Groznyy May 17 TASS—The protracted confrontation of political forces in the Chechen Republic completely paralysed government activities.

The former cabinet was dissolved, but the new ministers appointed by President Dzhokhar Dudayev cannot start functioning. They are even barred from their offices, let alone giving orders.

New republican Prime Minister Yaragiy Mamodayev approved by the Chechen parliament is forming his cabinet, but Dudayev's supporters oppose his moves.

Confrontation split leading government offices and departments. Here is an example with the republican procurator's office. Dudayev reinstated Elza Sheripova as procurator-general by his decree.

But the collegium of the procurator's office does not recognise her reinstatement, saying that, according to law, only parliament can appoint procurator-general.

Dudayev's sympathisers sealed off the parliament building, and lawmakers are forced to gather in other places. This notwithstanding, they do not intend to obey the president's order suspending the legislature's activities.

"Any compromise with the president is impossible now," new Chechen Parliament Speaker Khusayn Yusup Soslambekov said in an interview with ITAR-TASS this Monday. In his opinion, Dudayev must bow to the people's will and agree to a referendum on the form of a state power system in Chechnya scheduled for June 5.

Soslambekov, 36, who won popularity as chairman of the Caucasian Peoples' Confederation, is convinced that Dudayev "tries to grab power in Chechnya, putting into jeopardy the very idea of the republic's independence. We shall never put up with this," he added.

Opposition parties and movements continue their rally on the Teatralnyy Square in the Chechen capital Groznyy.

Even the most initiated people in Groznyy will not dare now to predict developments in the republic.

Constitutional Court Backs Dudayev; Rivals Form Government

MK1505112493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 15 May 93 p 11

[Dmitriy Kamyshev report: "Constitutional Crisis in Chechnya. Two Governments in Tiny Chechnya"]

[Text] An acute confrontation between the representative and executive branches in the Chechen Republic has entered a new stage: Late Thursday night Chechnya received yet another government. Now, along with the "presidential" government under Mayrbek Mugadayev, there will be a "parliamentary" government with Yaragi Mamodayev appointed as its head.

Until recently, Yaragi Mamodayev was deputy prime minister in the government headed by President Dzhokhar Dudayev himself; after his repeated critical pronouncements aimed at the latter, however, he was relieved of the post. Now that the parliament has decided to set up its own structure of executive authority, Yaragi Mamodayev appears to have suited both the parliamentary majority and the opposition. The

parliament has already confirmed the nomination of a number of the key ministers, whereas Prime Minister Mayrbek Mugadayev, appointed by Dudayev, has so far failed to make public the makeup of his government. Observers note that the deputies can actually count on their "own" government assuming real power in many areas of the republic: According to spokesmen for the opposition, the cities and rayons of Chechnya are now enacting legislation on their withdrawal from subordination to the president's administration and transfer to parliamentary jurisdiction; as of today, all the cities at the republic and rayon level, and also four out of 18 rural rayons of the republic have already passed these documents.

Meanwhile, Dzhokhar Dudayev apparently is not ruling out the possibility of resolving the conflict by force. This line of argument by local observers was prompted by the dismissal of Salman Khasemikov, commandant of Chechnya, who opposed the use of force against the political forces in opposition to the president. Khamzat Khankarov, a former commander of Chechen volunteers in Abkhazia who replaced him, is considered by observers to be an advocate of tough action. In addition, on Thursday, the president received unexpected support from the Chechen Constitutional Court, which reversed its recent decision declaring Dzhokhar Dudayev's edicts unconstitutional and instead ruled unconstitutional the parliament's resolutions that qualify Dudayev's edicts as running counter to the Chechnya Constitution. Thus, according to KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts, the Constitutional Court has in effect sided with the president in the conflict between the branches of power.

Chechen Premier Says Dudayev 'Must Step Down'

LD1505204693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2022 GMT 15 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy May 15 TASS—The new Chechen prime minister Yaragiy Mamodayev, former supporter of Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev, has said the president "has placed himself outside the constitution with his recent actions and must step down".

Mamodayev, a 40-year-old builder and economist-turned- politician, was appointed first vice-premier and then relieved of the post at the height by Dudayev at the height of the crisis. The parliament, the republic's Council of Heads Of administration and the most influential public movements and parties opposed the president on this and entrusted Mamodayev with forming a popular rust government.

Dudayev called the move unlawful, two days ago told Mamodayev and the ministers appointed by him to leave the cabinet building under threat of force, but failed.

Mamodayev told ITAR-TASS he and his supporters commanded forces ten times stronger than those Dudayev could hope to muster, but he was against the use of force and said he would be the first to defend the president if someone tried to capture the presidential palace by force. "Everything must be solved by peaceful means," he said.

He said any means of settling the dispute acceptable to Dudayev would be acceptable to himself, be it "the court of Shariat or a referendum". If the president remains at power as a result of the decision achieved in one of the proposed ways, "I shall help him in every way I can for the sake of the future Chechen state. If he has to go, we shall have to agree that politics is a game in which even the best can sometimes lose because they have dissociated themselves from reality".

"Dudayev has done much for the winning of independence for the Chechen people and the organisation of the state, but unfortunately very little for consolidating this independence and the development of the Chechen state which is now on the verge of collapse," Mamodayev said.

Chechen Opposition Stresses Holding Referendum

LD1605173693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to INTERFAX, Dhakhar Dudayev's opposition is firmly in favor of holding a referendum on confidence in the present Chechen authorities, despite the fact that the Chechen president described as illegal the vote due to take place on 5 June. Khadzhiyev, one of the opposition's leaders, told an INTERFAX correspondent that the referendum will be held regardless of all obstacles created by Dudayev. Khadzhiyev also stressed that a rally in one of Groznyy's squares is still continuing because Dudayev is unwilling to start negotiations. Nevertheless, according to reports, the situation in Groznyy remains quite calm.

Attempt Made To Seize Groznyy Government Building 13 May

LD1405200493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 14 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondent in Groznyy has reported that a government armed formation last night made an attempt to seize the government building where parliament and the cabinet of Vice Prime Minister Yaragi Mamodayev hold sessions. As is already known, parliament has tasked Mamodayev to form a transitional government. Fortunately, last night's events passed without direct clashes.

Chechen Opposition Vows Rally To Continue Until Aims Met

LD1405183693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1644 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy May 14 TASS—The opposition rally on Groznyy Theatre Square will go on till the main aim—the holding of a universal referendum on the form of power and ways of the Chechen state development on June 5—is achieved, Lecha Umkhayev, a leader of the Chechen opposition and head of the Chechen most influential public-political Daimokhk (Motherland) Movement, told the local radio today.

In his words, they cannot stop the rally, since otherwise they will be accused of cowardice by their opponents and of betrayal by their supporters.

Dudayev on Presidential Rule Improving State Structure

LD1605210593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 16 May, in its regular "Itogi" news program, broadcasts a 4-minute report by Correspondent Vladimir Kalinovskiy, who has just returned from Groznyy. He reports, over a video of rallies, on the situation in the town, saying that it was a month ago that President Dzhokhar Dudayev's opposition held its first rally. The Rally accused President Dudayev of anti- constitutional and authoritarian tendencies in his rule, holds him responsible for the collapse of the economy, and demands that he resign and that a new parliament be elected. In response, Dudayev's supporters organized their own rally on the square.

Dudayev is shown at a rally reading out an appeal, "signed by all commanders of units and subunits of the national guard," asking him to "pronounce the Chechen Islamic Independent Republic and declare as anti-state and illegal all official and unofficial, formal, and informal movements, as well as parties, the press, and rallies which hinder the setting up of the Islamic republic".

Kalinovskiy says that confrontation has become a permanent feature in the life of Groznyy. Dzhokhar Dudayev is shown being interviewed in an office, during which he says:

"My aim was to make sure that the majority of the republican citizens became aware of the real aims and intentions of the opposition. The aim of the opposition was to make me dissolve Parliament, to paralyze power, and to declare me a dictator, to accuse me of acting like a dictator and provoke a conflict. The decision was made to introduce presidential rule, which should improve the structure of the state."

The correspondent concludes his report by saying that in this conflict a compromise is unlikely.

Ossetian Congress Organizers on Lack of Peaceful Settlement

LD1605115593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0953 GMT 16 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Mikhail Shevtsov and Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 16 May— The organizing committee for convening the second congress of the Ossetian people in Vladikavkaz on 21 May has sent a letter to the leadership of Russia, North Ossetia, and Ingushetia and to the head of the provisional administration. The document stresses that with the creation of the bodies of state power and the election of Ruslan Aushev as president of the Republic of Ingushetia the people of Ossetia had pinned great hopes on the achievement of a solution to a whole range of issues by exclusively peaceful and political methods. Unfortunately this has not happened.

According to the members of the organizing committee of the congress of the Ossetian people, "the fact that extremist Ingush forces are not being punished and that the population of Ingushetia is being ideologically brainwashed against the Ossetian people is a great catalyst of confrontation" in the region. In these conditions in order to ensure the protection of the population it is necessary, in the view of the members of the organizing committee, urgently to introduce a border service between North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

A report from the headquarters of the provisional administration says that the situation in the limited state of emergency zone has not changed much in the past 24 hours. No exchange of fire or attacks on militia checkpoints have been registered in the region. At the same time the crime situation, in the assessment of the military, remains tense. A total of 17 crimes and incidents have been registered in the past 24 hours and 22 people detained for violations of administrative rules. The Vladikavkaz and Ingushetia Airports and the railway stations in Vladikavkaz, Beslan, and Nazran have been put under the special control of the Russian internal ministry transport group.

ITAR-TASS correspondents were informed by the South Ossetian Supreme Soviet press center that the situation in the populated areas near the border with Goriyskiy rayon has deteriorated. Unidentified people savagely killed three Ossetians from the village of Khetagurovo on 14 May, exchanges of fire were registered on the Dzhava-Tskhinvali road, and Georgian fighters are blocking road traffic. In connection with this the parliament of South Ossetia has sent a statement to the Georgian leadership today pointing out that the provocative actions by the Georgian fighters are directed at destabilizing the situation in the region and at resuming the armed conflict between the Ossetian and Georgian peoples.

Tatarstan's Mukhametshin Says Moscow Ignores Autonomy Moves

LD1505082793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] Tatarstan does not intend taking part in the discussion of the draft constitutions of the Russian Federation since none of these drafts reflects the republic's proposal to construct treaty- constitutional relations between Tatarstan and Russia.

Our correspondent Dzhaudat Aminov reports from Kazan that this statement was made by Farid Mukhametshin, chairman of the Tatarstan parliament. He warned that if Moscow continues to refuse to take account of Tatarstan's steps toward autonomy there is the possibility of recalling deputies from the Russian parliament, nonparticipation in electing new deputies from Tatarstan, and also recalling Tatarstan's representatives from the federal government.

Kalmykia Introduces Presidential Rule

LD1405215593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 May 93

[By correspondent Tatyana Bambysheva; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In Kalmykia, the president is setting up his own administrative structure, with the same powers that the Russian president has in the center.

[Bambysheva] A logical consequence of the transformations carried out by Kirsan Nikolayevich Ilyumzhinov, president of Kalmykia, in the upper echelons of state power in the republic has been a reform of the administrative system in the provinces. Direct presidential rule is being established throughout Kalmykia.

In the the republic's capital and rayons, it will be implemented through representatives of the president who have received special powers. Local administrations in all populated areas have been abolished by a decision of the temporary parliament of the Republic of Kalmykia-Khalmg Tangch. Deputies have also pronounced the law on local government in Kalmykia invalid.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Assesses CIS Summit Meeting

LD1505192493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 15 May 93

[Excerpts] We have already reported that a sitting of the Council of the CIS Heads of State was held in Moscow on 14 May.

[Correspondent] Here is what President Leonid Kravchuk said on the results of the sitting, interviewed last night by Ukrainian and foreign journalists at the Borispol airport:

[Begin Kravchuk recording] In general, we have stood for starting to form structures for economic integration, which would ensure close economic cooperation within the framework of the CIS. I have already said this, and it might have even been our Ukrainian initiative. This was our position, and we expressed it in Minsk.

However, we know that this integration should be based on a new basis, the market one, the democratic one, and the legislative one.

The thing is that some people reckoned that a union means that (?everything) is the way it used to be. Somebody has said something here, somebody has taken a decision there. There is a directive body, there is a centralized economy, and there is a super-partite executive dictatorship. Everybody will straight away come to the union or go with the union.

The reality, however, is that we have worked our way up to our own national legislation. We have worked our way up to sovereignty. We have worked our way up to statehood. It all exists, and it is so in every state.

In order to form something so large within the framework of the CIS, it is necessary to weigh everything up. Every economic and political point. That is why, once again, we want it to be not just an unfulfilled desire, or a declaration which would be hard to put

into practice, but an absolutely realistic process of forming such a consultative body which could help the national states, with their own economies and their own structures, and with some things changed and some things made more precise, set up some sort of, for example, a common market, or an economic association of states, or an agreement on an economic association or on a common market; that is, we want to find such a formula which would not require every state to give up its statehood and sovereignty. For if we start with requiring to change the national legislation and take steps against what has already been done, it would mean confrontation. At the same time, I do not rule out the fact that whatever there will be under this common market or under this (?structure) needs to be made more precise. [end recording]

Supreme Council To Discuss START, NPT 18-21 May

LD1405212393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] A meeting of the Ukrainian Supreme Council Presidium was held today. It was chaired by [Supreme Council Chairman] Ivan Plyushch. The meeting discussed the procedure for the deliberation of issues at plenary sessions which will take place 18-21 May.

In the first few days of its work, the Supreme Council is to hear a report by the Ukrainian president on the situation in Ukraine and programs of internal and foreign political activity of the president and the Government of Ukraine, as well a report by the Cabinet of Ministers on the socioeconomic and political situation which has come about in Ukraine, and the ways out of it.

Apart from that, the state of monetary circulation and the main guidelines of the monetary and credit policy of the National Bank for 1993, as well as an account by the State Property Fund of Ukraine, are to be discussed.

It is envisioned that the draft main guidelines of the foreign policy of our state at its second reading, as well as a draft of Ukraine's military doctrine, drafts of the law on the fight against organized criminal activity, and other legal acts will be examined.

At the same time, it is envisioned that the discussion of the ratification of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty and of the accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT] will take place at the session.

Having examined the Supreme Council Presidium's edicts of 26 and 30 August 1991 on temporarily suspending the activity of the Communist Party of Ukraine and on banning the activity of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Presidium resolved as follows:

First, Ukrainian citizens who (?had been) members of the Communist Party of Ukraine cannot, without a court decision, be judged to have been involved in the 1991 coup d'etat or suffer any limitations due to the fact that they had formerly been members of the Communist Party.

Second, Ukrainian citizens sharing communist ideas can form party organizations in accordance with the present legislation of Ukraine.

The preliminary discussion of drafts of some of the legislative acts to be discussed at the forthcoming plenary sessions, as well as other issues of the life of the Ukrainian state, took place at the meeting.

Plyushch Comments on Visit to Iran

LD1405145193

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian at 1900 GMT on 13 May carries a 6-minute correspondent's report on a news conference held by Ivan Plyushch, head of Ukraine's delegation to Iran and Ukrainian parliament speaker, at Borispol Airport on his

return on 13 May from his four-day visit to Iran. The report includes recorded remarks by Plyushch.

On the results of the visit, Plyushch says: "The main result, it seems to us, was that we found the case to be that if we continue to work in this way for international links, especially for mutually advantageous interstate economic relations, then we will not add to our authority, but unfortunately we will lose it. This is a bitter but objective conclusion. You know, we have some credit still, and I made use of it when I was questioned directly by Iran's president, and by the parliament chairman. They said: We have been waiting here for your delegation of the legislative body, perhaps you could somehow influence the persons responsible, on a legislative basis and making use of the right to manage, so that contractual obligations are implemented. I argued that we are a young state, that our government has changed, that certain people who signed, and others, although they say that we are successors, that we will implement, do not hurry, because they do not seem to believe that they bear responsibility for this. Well, you know, one can explain anything. We lose from this, however, and lose more than the Iranian side; this, it seems to me, is the main conclusion we drew. So we see that we also need somehow to work on a system at the legislative level in order in some way to encourage and assist entrepreneurs and businessmen to establish direct links, naturally with direct state regulation."

In response to a remark by the correspondent on the Ostankino report that Ukraine had sold four missiles to Iran, Plyushch declares: "I can tell you frankly that I was not directly engaged in contracts for delivery of military technology. I am stating unequivocally that we are not delivering any aerodynamic missiles [krylata raketa] and we are not going to deliver any."

The correspondent then mentions an ITAR-TASS news item, according to which, in a conversation between Plyushch and the Iranian president, the Ukrainian delegation was advised not to orient itself toward Europe or to develop relations with European states. Plyushch says: "I will tell you that there was no such direct caution against orientation toward the West. When we talked about the process, however, which is proceeding in countries of Eastern Europe and former republics of the former Soviet Union, the Iranians expressed concern over the instability of the situation, and, well, to some extent tried to ascertain the West's role in this process. There were no such straight accusations or assertions concerning the West."

On issues discussed with the Iranian president, Plyushch said: "The meeting with the president was intense. When we arrived there was this queue there. The president works in an intensive mode, and we were not there at the time envisaged for us in to the schedule. The meeting was quite difficult. I will tell you frankly. The president was immediately interested in the health of our president, and then went over to why contractual obligations are not being implemented, which were signed at a certain level, and so on. I explained a great deal to the president, and said that that our legislative body has also not worked sufficiently in many areas, that our legislative base could not open a wide path for this. The decree adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers did not only put this path in order, but to some extent caused concern in the West, and in other countries, that our legislation is unstable. So I explained that we will do everything to ensure that our legislation is stable, so that there may be confidence in it both in the West and in the East."

The correspondent concludes by saying that Plyushch told journalists that Iran informed the delegation that it would actively help in the search for and the return of prisoners of war from the war in Afghanistan.

National Affairs

Kuchma on Need for More Powers To Carry Out Reforms

LD1605215893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 May 93

[From the "Itogi" news program presented by Yevgeniy Kiselev]

[Text] [Kiselev] Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma is now in the Kiev television studio, in a Moscow-Kiev television link-up with the Itogi studio. Leonid Danylovych, you have declared that you will resign if the Supreme Soviet fails to extend your additional powers. Is that the case?

[Kuchma] Yes, in effect that is the way it is, Yevgeniy Alekseyevich, because in the present situation there can be no other option.

[Kiselev] So you are in determined mood, is that it?

[Kuchma] Of course!

[Kiselev] Tell me, why do you need these additional powers? What reforms are you planning to carry out when you have these additional powers?

[Kuchma] The government needs these powers because it has to work in an absolutely calm atmosphere. It cannot waste its time patching up holes and trying to save enterprises which have already gone bankrupt; what it has to do is to get on with the strategy of economic reform. The main thing in the current situation is, in my view—and people are virtually unanimous on this today—to get down seriously to tackling privatization. In order to do this, the government must have not just the responsibility, but all the power to do it—and that, I think, is the main thing.

[Kiselev] So it is privatization and a tough financial policy, is it?

[Kuchma] Of course.

[Kiselev] One can see many things in common here with the situation, the struggle I mean, around the main directions of economic reform in Russia and Ukraine.

[Kuchma] To some extent, yes probably, insofar as the government I head has at present the right only to issue decrees and nothing else, because the financial and credit system is not in the government's hands, is not accountable to the government. The State Property Fund is accountable to the Supreme Soviet, and all this is indeed to some degree reminiscent of the situation in Russia. However, there are some differences. The difference is that we do not have confrontation between the executive and the legislative powers.

[Kiselev] Do you expect that during the debate on extending or not extending the additional powers on Tuesday at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet sitting, your opponents will expect you to make certain sacrifices?

[Kuchma] I am categorically opposed to sacrifices, because I reckon that I have a clearer view of who can work and who cannot. I shall therefore say quite unambiguously at the Supreme Soviet that that is not the place where someone has to give up something to someone else.

[Kiselev] But to ask bluntly—you will excuse me for such bluntness—you have no intention of yielding your unpopular vice premier Pynzenyk up to the opposition, to your opponents?

[Kuchma] Of course not!

[Kiselev] Do you not feel yourself alone in this political struggle?

[Kuchma] Well, I am aware that very many people share my views and my stance, but I do indeed feel that to some extent the government was always just a playing card [karta], and remains such. I do feel that, to some degree, unfortunately.

[Kiselev] Are you hoping for the support of Ukrainian President Kravchuk in this whole situation?

[Kuchma] I can rule out lack of support, because we are after all the same branch of power; and if someone starts sawing off that branch from above, that would benefit neither the president nor the government nor the people as a whole.

[Kiselev] Thank you, Leonid Danylovych, for answering, and I hope this will not be the last time Itogi viewers have the chance of meeting Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma.

[Kuchma] Last time your forecast was right, thank you!

Republican Party Criticizes Government's Economic Failure

LD1605132693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 16 May 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Republican Party leadership notes that in the past six months of its activity the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has not managed to utilize the supplementary plenary powers granted to it and stop hyperinflation and the crisis phenomena in the economy. The Cabinet of Ministers has not taken energetic measures to provide Ukraine with fuel and energy resources which would be an alternative to sources in Russia, and has continued the orientation of the economy toward Moscow.

That is why the Ukrainian Republican Party leadership recommends that its deputies group should refrain from voting on adopting a law on granting supplementary plenary powers to the Cabinet of Ministers at a Supreme Council session in May of this year, and that they should inform the Supreme Council about the Ukrainian Republican Party's position formulated by its fourth congress on 2 May.

Supporting the principle of emergency plenary powers being granted to the government under conditions of the transitional period, the Ukrainian Republican Party deems it most advisable that a government should be formed from specialist reformers without the participation of the Supreme Council. Such a government would enjoy the trust of Ukrainian citizens and secure backing from the structures of power, public and political organizations. It could carry out deep, consistent, and decisive reforms in all spheres.

Party Leader Warns of Communist 'Comeback'

LD1605175993

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian at 1900 GMT on 15 May carries an 8-minute report by the announcer on the recent fourth congress of the Party for the Democratic Revival of Ukraine [PDRU], held in Kiev, focusing on the speech delivered there by party leader Volodymyr Filenko. This party was formed in the autumn of 1989 on the basis of the democratic platform within the Communist Party of Ukraine. The founding congress however, was not held until December 1990. It later became one of the founding members of the New Ukraine association.

According to the announcer, Filenko said in his congress speech that one cannot ignore the fact that the communists are mounting a comeback. Evidence for this, he said, was the failure to elect qualified lawyers to the Constitutional Court and attempts to lift the ban on the Communist Party of Ukraine. He went on to say that cooperation between communist and anti-Ukrainian forces is becoming increasingly more evident.

Speaking about the process of reforms, Filenko said the absence in Ukraine of any confrontation between pro-reformists and anti- reformists, as in Russia, "is not evidence of the absence of the problem itself. Moreover, if in Russia the president himself and his colleagues are displaying political initiative and are attempting to lead the reform process, then in Ukraine such an initiative on the part of the head of state is unfortunately not evident." He went on to say that the actions of Ukraine's political forces today are proof of their weakness, for example, the failure to collect enough signatures for the pre-term dissolution of the Supreme Council.

Speaking about the previous government led by Vitold Fokin, and the present one, Filenko said that the PDRU had contributed to its downfall but the party was not able to form a new government because it did not correspond to the party's market ideal. Furthermore, he said, the government does not depend for support on any single political force because it is composed of people with diverse political views. Continuing to analyze the government's activities, he said that the government committed many errors in the past few months and its main blunder was to submit to the pressure of anti- reformist forces and not to have begun real privatization. Filenko said the party should reserve the right of "constructive criticism of the government," but added that "one must remember that nobody will elect a better government."

Speaking about the future course of the party, Filenko said there are plans to merge with the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine.

Official Blames Government for Crisis at Nuclear Plants

AU1405130093 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 13 May 93 p 1

[Interview with Vasyl Kotko, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Atomic Energy: "Atomic Power Engineering Is in an Economic Quandary. Anatomy of the Crisis"]

[Text] The situation in which our atomic power engineering has found itself seems to be the worst in our industry. All plans for the operation and development of atomic electric power plants [AES] have been violated and power units that are ready to start up operations are standing idle. Vasyl Kotko, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Atomic Energy, has agreed to brief DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA on the situation in this branch of industry:

[Kotko] Our atomic power engineering works according to rates introduced back in November 1992. At present, these rates do not even cover 10 percent of the real cost of electricity produced. Expenditure on the nuclear fuel alone that we are buying from Russia constitutes, at the official rate of the ruble, about 11 karbovantsi [K] per kilowatt-hour, whereas the effective rate is K1.65 per kilowatt-hour.

The atomic plants have actually become bankrupt. Their indebtedness in repaying credits granted by banks and suppliers exceeds K150 billion. The banks are refusing to grant new credits. That is why the AES are unable to procure even the most essential equipment to continue producing electricity. For example, at the Zaporizhzhya AES, we cannot purchase racks for compact storage of spent nuclear fuel. At the Southern Ukrainian AES, one unit has been disconnected for repairs and yet another will be halted in June. In order to conduct this repair work, the AES needs about 17,000 or 18,000 units of various equipment.

We also buy the majority of spare parts and equipment in Russia. From Russia, we also receive 100 percent of the nuclear fuel, about 80 chemical reagents, and equipment. For the second quarter of 1993 alone, we must pay 50 billion rubles for these deliveries.

However, it is not because our atomic power engineering does not function properly that we have found ourselves in such a difficult situation. The government is responsible for this situation: The crisis is the result of ill-considered administrative actions. The problem of payments to Russia must be urgently resolved. We do not export electric energy to Russia and, therefore, we do not have rubles. For purchasing equipment and spare parts and for ensuring the safe operation of our AES, we need some of the hard currency that our power engineers are earning. However, as stipulated by the Cabinet of Ministers decree, the electricity that is exported on the basis of quotas is listed as deliveries in accordance with state contracts, and therefore, neither atomic power engineers nor workers of thermal electric power plants receive a single cent for the energy sold.

Belarus

Shushkevich: Minsk Not To Sign Collective Security Treaty

WS1405135393 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1104 GMT 14 May 93

[BELINFORM report: "Stanislav Shushkevich Believes Collective Security Treaty Will Not Be Signed"]

[Text] Will Belarus sign the treaty on collective security at the current summit in Moscow? People's deputies who had voted for joining this treaty charged the Supreme Soviet chairman with signing it. This was the first question put to Stanislav Shushkevich before he flew to Moscow.

The leader of Belarusian legislature said: "There are some issues on which you cannot use a policy of compromise when they are being discussed. Our deputies had charged me with signing this agreement, but only with provisions. So Belarus will not sign this document at the coming summit."

When asked if he knew anything about the sale of armaments to Tajikistan, Stanislav Shushkevich responded in the negative.

Shushkevich Urges Support for Neutrality Policy

WS1705101493 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1552 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] All the major Belarusian newspapers have published an address by Supreme Soviet Chairman Shushkevich. The head of the Belarusian legislature has addressed his compatriots with the question: "Do you support Belarusian neutrality, which stipulates refraining from joining military and military-political pacts?"

The address was prompted by last month's Supreme Soviet decision on joining the CIS joint security treaty, signed by a number of Commonwealth states in Tashkent in May 1992. Stanislav Shushkevich did not sign the document then, explaining that he was not entitled to do this without the decision on the part of the legislature. According to Shushkevich, joining the treaty would violate the neutral and nonnuclear status declared earlier by the Republic.

The Supreme Soviet chairman is still defending this stance. He discusses all the arguments "for" and "against" the treaty. While answering the question: "Why are Belarusian advocates of joint security in such a hurry?" Stanislav Shushkevich claims: "There can be only one reason, and it is becoming increasingly evident. This is the lack of a clear-cut plan for the structural reorganization of the economy, including large-scale conversion. This is also a display of nostalgia for the past, when someone's passivity could be explained through the actions of the imperial 'center,' and one could hide behind 'Big Brother's' back."

The head of the Belarusian legislature also pointed out that "by rejecting the policy of neutrality, Belarus will suffer tangible losses: the sphere of its political activity will be narrowed, and the Republic will be discredited in the international arena, which will prompt neighboring states to create similar blocs and pacts."

Stanislav Shushkevich has confirmed again that Belarus is supporting the development of economic cooperation within the CIS, as well as economic cooperation with Russia, which "has always been and still remains the main economic partner of Belarus." However, this should not be linked to the Republic's rejection of neutrality.

A Supreme Soviet session is scheduled for 18 May. At Shushkevich's proposal it will name the date of the referendum at which people will be asked the question: "Do you support Belarusian neutrality, which stipulates refraining of the Republic from joining military and military-political pacts?" In his newspaper address, Stanislav Shushkevich expresses belief that "the people will undoubtedly speak in favor of a neutral Belarus, of butter instead of guns."

Supreme Soviet Presidium Drafts Agenda for 18 May Session

WS1705083993 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 17 May 93

[Text] A Supreme Soviet Presidium has just started its session in Minsk. One of the main issues that will be discussed is the agenda of the regular session of the Belarusian legislature, which is opening tomorrow. Prior to this, major draft laws were discussed at the Consultative Council. Many of them have been recommended for completion. In the opinion of many deputies belonging to the Belarus Deputies Association, the session has been poorly planned. A number of second-rate issues have been included on the agenda. The Presidium's decision will be known today.

Participants at the first roundtable—to be held on 17 May at 1300 GMT—will include representatives of political parties and movements, and will discuss the upcoming referendum on the main directions of domestic and foreign policy.

Kebich-Led Delegation Completes Visit to UAE, India

WS1705084493 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 17 May 93

[Text] An official visit to the United Arab Emirates and India by a Belarusian government delegation headed by Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has taken place. During his stay in the UAE, Vyacheslav Kebich was received by President Shaykh Zayid Bin- Sultan Al Nuhayyan. It was pointed out that the first-ever official visit of an official Belarusian delegation to the Emirates had initiated cooperation between the two states. In a

communique the Belarusian side confirmed its desire to sign an agreement on economic and trade cooperation and protection of investments.

The Belarusian delegation flew from Abu Dhabi to Delhi on 12 May. Vyacheslav Kebich held negotiations with President Shankar Dayal Sharma and Prime Minister Narasimha Rao. In the course of these negotiations, the two sides spoke in favor of the development of Belarusian-Indian relations. A declarations on principles and directions of cooperation was signed, as were an agreement on economic trade and cooperation, as well as documents on cooperation in the fields of culture, arts, education, mass media, sports and tourism, science and technology, and others. In accordance with the agreement on economic trade and cooperation, the sides will grant each other most favored nation status.

In Bombay, Vyacheslav Kebich met with Indian entrepreneurs and businessmen interested in cooperation with our Republic. A visit to Belarus of two Indian businessmen's delegation is expected to take place in the very near future. An exhibition of goods manufactured by Indian companies, to be held this summer in Minsk, will mark an important stage in the cooperation. The creation of joint ventures in perfumery and tourism is anticipated.

Moldova

Snegur Outlines Content of Talks With Yeltsin

LD1505183893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 May 93

[By correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev and program announcer Igor Vykhukholev on meeting between President Mircea Snegur and Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow on 15 May; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Vykhukholev] The extraordinary CIS summit gave the Commonwealth countries' leaders an unscheduled opportunity to discuss not only shared but also specific bilateral issues. Today two of the presidents availed themselves of this opportunity.

[Perfilyev] Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur today held a meeting in the Kremlin, during which they examined the progress of the peace settlement in the Dniester armed conflict. The two presidents praised the work of the peace-keeping forces in the area.

During their talks, they also discussed relations between Russia and Moldova. President Mircea Snegur commented on the outcome of the talks to correspondents.

[Snegur] The main subject of our conversation was how to expedite a political settlement after last year's fighting in the Dniester region. We need of course to combine the principles of democracy without in any way compromising those of independence, while at the same time appreciating that, for example, 90 percent of Moldova's economic and all other links are with the countries to the east, that is with Ukraine, Russia, and the other former Soviet countries. In this respect, I think that yesterday's decision instructing documents on an economic union to be drafted and also the declaration are of exceptional importance.

[Vykhukholev] During their talks, the two sides also confirmed that the Russian 14th Army will definitely be withdrawn from Moldova, and that the pullout will be timed to a decision on the special legal status of the Dniester region. Next week, the Russian and Moldovan prime ministers will meet in Moscow to conclude a number of bilateral agreements.

Dniester Vice President Hails Talks With Snegur

AU1505175793 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2005 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 14/5/1993—The meeting in May, the tenth between the leadership of Moldova and leaders from Tiraspol, contributed to the achievement of mutual agreements and was performed under an atmosphere of mutual respect, stated Aleksandr Caraman, the vice president of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic, in an interview published today in DNESTROVSKAYA PRAVDA.

"The meeting showed that both of us hope to resolve economic problems and re-establish economic relations and we discussed in a similar way methods for resolving problems in the area of banking, finance, and transports," stated Caraman also clarifying that the Tiraspol leaders have not changes their political conception.

According to Caraman's statement, leaders of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic remain staunch adherents of the concept of organizing a confederation of Moldova which was approved by the Supreme Soviet of Moldova on 6 January 1993. There are supporters of the so-called "war party" in the Dniester region, which comprises people who define attempts to regulate the conflict by peaceful ways as threatening the interests of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic, Caraman explained. Local observers believe that the vice president in Tiraspol probably referred to the group of deputies who represent OSTK [expansion unknown] and is headed by Vasiliy Yakovlev.

The Tiraspol Supreme Soviet designed a new commission for negotiating with the authorities in Chisinau which will be headed by Ana Voykova. Within this commission, two opponents of peacefully resolving the conflict were included: Vasiliy Yakovlev and Viktor Dlucharev.

Tajikistan

Dushanbe Mayor Meets U.S. Ambassador

LD1405142393 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] The Mayor of Dushanbe Jamaluddin Mansurov, today received His Excellency Stanley Escudero, the U.S. ambassador to Tajikistan. During talks, His Excellency Escudero stated that the United States was ready to extend all-round assistance to the Tajik capital to overcome consequences of the natural disaster.

UN Special Envoy Arrives, Comments on Mission

LD1505232593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2035 GMT 15 May 93

[By Alisher Khodzhayev, including recorded interview with Ismat Kittani, UN secretary general's special envoy; in English with superimposed Russian translation; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[text] The UN secretary general's special envoy, Iraqi diplomat Ismat Kittani, has arrived in Tajikistan. At the Tajik Ministry of Foreign Affairs he held talks for two hours behind closed doors with the republic's Minister of Foreign Affairs Alimov. The mandate of the special envoy, who worked in Somalia before this mission, envisages studying the views of all sides which have been involved in the armed conflict and not only in Tajikistan but also in neighboring states, including Russia.

[Kittani] My task is to assist the Tajik people in creating an atmosphere devoid of hostility and fulfilling the agreement on a halt to hostilities and at the same time to represent the good offices of the UN Secretary General in helping the Tajik people to achieve national reconciliation. We can only assist in this. It is the people of Tajikistan who will resolve the actual task of restoring peace.

Mr. Kittani expressed his regret and sympathy in connection with the natural catastrophe which has befallen Tajikistan.

Iranian Embassy Rejects Report on Arms for Opposition

LD1405152893 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1430 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran's embassy in the city of Dushanbe, capital of Tajikistan, today issued a statement denying a news report by a Russian television network which said that Iran has provided arms to the forces which oppose the Tajik Government.

The Russian television network claimed Wednesday that in an attempt to make Tajikistan's southern borders insecure, Iranian aircraft drop consignments of arms in northern Afghanistan.

The statement issued by our country's embassy in Tajikistan says:

The Islamic Republic of Iran has common historical, cultural, language, and religious ties with the central Asian republics and the existence of an insecure climate in the region is detrimental to the interests of all countries of the region.

Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed With Belarus

LD1405182293 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0030 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] A protocol was signed during a ceremony in Dushanbe 13 May on expanding beneficial economic cooperation between Belarus and Tajikistan. Signing for each country were the respective vice prime ministers, Samadov and Kostikov.

Samadov, Tajik deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, said an important event took place today which is of great importance for the two countries. Not only does the protocol reflect principles and main directions for development of economic relations, it also envisages preparing a number of specific drafts to be implemented with efforts by both countries. Wishing the people of Belarus much success and progress, Samadov said we will adopt all measures to encourage cooperation between the two countries in the framework of the CIS.

Kostikov, Belarusian deputy chairman, praised the work already done and expressed the hope that the agreements will be definitely implemented. Kostikov said we know that Tajikistan is now facing a difficult period and that we always do what we promise, noting that all measures will be taken to see the common drafts implemented in practice.

Turkmenistan

Niyazov Explains State Structure, Economic Policy

LD1305180293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 13 May 93

[Report on SEGODNYA interview with President Saparmurad Niyazov by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] The Moscow-based newspaper SEGODNYA features an interview with the president of Turkmenistan, Saparmurad Niyazov. His answers were straighforward. Here are the main points he made.

Mr. Niyazov was asked what he thought of the so-called Turkmen phenomenon: At first the Commonwealth press failed to understand our actions and Turkmenistan was dubbed a socialist reservation. The fact of the matter is that unlike other republics we did not destroy the old state apparatus and the top bodies of the Communist Party.

Such a policy, unpopular at the time, had the purely pragmatic objective of avoiding anarchy and a power vacuum. Good or bad, the old structures were at the time the only force capable of ensuring order and stability.

We used them to the full. The result was the Turkmenian phenomenon, which means independence, prospects for economic development, and popular trust in the president. Apparently any different approach would have had undesirable results.

[Unidentified correspondent]: Speaking of economic development, would the Chinese model fit Turkmenistan?

[Niyazov]: Turkmenistan and China have very different conditions, potentials, and other factors. So there's no chance of our copying the Chinese model. I'm very careful about borrowing any model of economic development, no matter how impressive. I favor using general principles or those that are the most fitting for Turkmenistan's conditions. In the Chinese model, for instance, we like the reforms in farming, the gradual entrance into a market economy through the cooperation of small farms, the privatization of small and medium size farms, and the creation of free economic zones. We are already working in this direction. In short, we will use the experience of other countries but on the whole we will look for our own way of development, one in keeping with the interests of our country.

[Correspondent]: Turkmenistan has vast resources of natural gas. But there is still only one gas pipeline that connects the republic with the West via third countries. Did not President Niyazov think his republic might find itself dependent on these countries?

[Niyazov]: This is an extremely difficult problem. One cannot speak of unilateral dependence, (?all of us), both consumers of our gas and the countries through which the gas pipelines run, depend on each other. Any attempts, however small, to manipulate with the transit of gas will lead to great losses for everyone. Natural gas is not only an economic factor: it's a diplomatic factor as well. No wonder the hostile sides in the hotspots in the Transcaucasus are destroying gas pipelines.

Providing fuel is a means of exerting political and military pressure so the only way out of this is through mutual understanding. Right now we're working on two global projects, one a pipeline going to Turkey and Europe through Iran, the other a pipeline going to southeast Asia, China, and further east to Japan. When these projects are completed Turkmenistan will no longer depend on the pipeline it has at present. But we will continue to have close relations with all our traditional partners, thinking of course of the interests of our own people first of all.

Niyazov's Comments on CIS Economic Union Reported

LD1505202093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1410 GMT 15 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Excerpt] Ashgabat, 15 May—Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov has never denied and does not deny the potential of the CIS to integrate into a group of states in place of the former USSR. However, he is convinced that as the new economic union is established there should be a prevailing conceptual and intellectual approach, whose essence lays not in the past but in the future. This was conveyed to ITAR-TASS by Durdymukhamet Kurban, press secretary to the president of Turkmenistan. [passage omitted]

Armenia

Parliament Speaker Undergoes 'Minor' Operation 14 May

LD1505120593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1145 GMT 15 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan May 15 TASS—A minor surgical operation has been performed on Friday [14 May] on Babken Ararktsyan, chairman of the Armenian Parliament, a spokesman for the parliament's press centre told ITAR-TASS. He did not specify what disease Ararktsyan was suffering from. In the opinion of doctors, the state of his health is satisfactory.

Defense Ministry: Baku Trying To Involve Nakhichevan, Turkey

NC1405140793 Yerevan SNARK in English 1257 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Yerevan, 14 May (SNARK)—The press-center of the Armenian Defense Department has informed the reports of the Azerbaijani Foreign Department on shelling of the Nakhichevani towns and villages from the territory of Armenia are a lie. The Azerbaijani mass media never spoke on the shellings of the Nakhichevani settlements from the territory of Armenia. The independent observers in Yerevan are of the opinion that the official Baku is on the intentions to involve Nakhichevan into the conflict. The Nakhichevani leader Geydar Aliyev disagrees to the course of the official Baku and avoids the confrontation with Armenia. Making Armenia retaliate at the Nakhichevani border, Azerbaijan hopes there will be corresponding reaction from the Turkish side.

Shelling Reportedly Prevents 13 May Hostage Transfer

NC1405141493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1257 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Stepanakert 14 May (SNARK)—The Karabakh department of press and information has informed no hostages transfer took place yesterday. Not far from the Govshatly village, Fizulinskiy region of Azerbaijan, the Karabakh delegation was shelled. Fortunately, no victims. It should be mentioned that the Karabakh side was on the intentions to hand in to the Azerbaijani side three old people and 10 months old baby from the Kelbadzharskiy region. Isa Nadir Ogly Mustafayev, 81 years old Azeri said that he was shocked by the fact that Karabakh is more anxious with the fact of the hostages than in Azerbaijan. Meanwhile, according to the opinion expressed by the observers in Karabakh, the Azerbaijani side intendedly prevents unilateral hostages transfer to discredit Arzu Abdullayeva, coordinator of the "Helsinki Citizen Assambly", who should take part in the meeting.

Prime Minister, Chinese Ambassador Discuss Ties

NC1405163893 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Armenian Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan received the Chinese Ambassador to Armenia Zhao Xidi at his request on 12 May.

The prime minister briefed the ambassador on the political and economic situation in Armenia, on reforms, and on difficulties in the economic and energy sectors.

Referring to Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, the prime minister stressed Armenia's readiness to reestablish peace in the region. He focused on the differences between Armenia and several international organizations over the assessment of the political situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

They examined some concrete problems relating to the economic and cultural cooperation between Armenia and China. They noted with satisfaction that mutual understanding exists between the two countries, which guarantees the further broadening and deepening of ties.

Zhao Xidi said China gives great importance to its cooperation with Armenia. The best confirmation of that is the establishment of diplomatic relations with Armenia, considering that China does not have embassies in all the CIS countries.

Trade, Technical Cooperation Pact Signed With Greece

NC1405190293 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Greece and Armenia have signed a trade and technical cooperation agreement, according to an official statement issued by the Greek Government in Athens on 14 May. Vasilios Kondoyiannopoulos, industry, energy and commerce minister, signed for Greece and State Minister Sepuh Tashdzhyan for Armenia.

Azerbaijan

Strobe Talbott, Delegation Visit Baku

LD1405153593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1427 GMT 14 May 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Elchin Sardarov for TASS]

[Text] Baku May 14 TASS—"We value highly the American role in bringing truths about the Armenian-Azeri conflict to world attention", Azeri Parliament Speaker Isa Kamberov told an American delegation led by Strobe Talbott, coordinator of American assistance to CIS and East European countries.

Noting the increased American interest in Azerbaijan and its problems, Talbott said his country welcomes

democratic transformations in independent Azerbaijan and its first steps along the path of state construction. Talbott gave high marks to the role of Azeri leaders in strengthening Azeri-American relations, a new stage in whose development was celebrated by the opening of the Azeri embassy in Washington D.C.

Peace Process, Cease-Fire Discussed

NC1405185893 Baku AZERTAC in English 1757 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Baku, 14 May (AZERTAC)—To resume negotiations sponsored by the CSCE is presently of vital importance. My short visit to your country allows me to come to the conclusion that your leader thinks as I do, Mr. S. Talbott, the head of the U.S. Government delegation, said today.

The special representative of the U.S. state secretary, the U.S. State Department advisor on relations with newly established states also said that although the Congress decided to stop granting the humanitarian aid to Azerbaijan officially, this aid was being granted and would be granted to Azerbaijan by non-government organizations.

During the audience given to the delegation President Abulfaz Elchibey told about correspondence with President Clinton and said that he was satisfied with positive changes in relations between Azerbaijan and the USA further that the USA took positive stance on the Kelbadzharskiy matter. During a tetatet [spelling as received] meeting between the head of the delegation and President Elchibey the matter of ceasefire in the zone of military operations and the matter of resumption of efforts on peaceful settlement of the conflict within the frames of the CSCE were discussed. Other matters, such as economic cooperation between both the countries, particularly in the sphere of exploration and exploitation of offshore oil.

Further on Meetings

NC1405162693 Baku TURAN in English 1457 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Baku, 14 May (TURAN)—Today the American delegation headed by the counsellor of the U.S. state secretary on the new independent states Strobe Talbott arrived in Baku.

At 11 o clock local time the delegation was received by the Chairman of the Parliament Isa Kamberov.

At 12 o clock the President of Azerbaijan Abulfaz Elchibey received the delegation.

As TURAN agency was informed during the meeting with Elchibey the envoy of the state secretary of the U.S. said that Washington is ready to be a guarantee of territorial integrity and sovereignty of Azerbaijan.

Talbott also noted that the U.S. regards Elchibey as a leader capable to make a really democratic state and conduct market economy reforms. During the talk the problems of development and consolidation of American-Azerbaijani economic relations were discussed. The oil output was called as a priority sphere of cooperation.

After the meeting with Elchibey Talbott said in the talk with journalists that he handed to the president of Azerbaijan a private letter of the U.S. President, in which he expressed a satisfaction of Azerbaijan readiness to realize a tripartite initiative. Talbott also noted that the United States considers a best way to solve the Armenian-Azerbaijanian conflict is the mechanism of Minsk meeting under CSCE auspices.

Speaking about the tripartite initiative the counsellor of the state secretary of the U.S. noted that meetings in Yerevan confirmed a hope to manage to sign American-Russian-Turkish peaceful initiative by sides during the negotiations.

Prime Minister To Attend CIS Summit as Observer

OW1505011293 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 May 93

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] Panakh Guseynov, prime minister of Azerbaijan, and Abbas Abbasov, vice premier, will take part in the conference of heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States, which will begin its work in Moscow tomorrow, in the capacity of observers. A KHABAR-SERVICE correspondent learned this in the office of the Republic's president. The meeting will discuss questions about the economic space of the former union's republics.

According to Rafael Guseynov, deputy plenipotentiary representative of Azerbaijan in Moscow, the participation of official representatives from Baku at the meeting can only be welcomed. Guseynov also stressed that future Azerbaijan participation in the economic community without infringement on its political sovereignty would only benefit the republic.

Cease-Fire 'Communique' Signed Between Nakhichevan, Armenia

NC1505141293 Baku TURAN in English 1341 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] Baku May 15 (TURAN)—This morning on the border between Armenia and Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic the meeting of Nakhichevan Supreme Mejlis Chairman Geydar Aliyev with the first vice-chairman of Armenia Supreme Soviet Ara Sahakyan took place.

At the meeting, that lasted three hours, sides discussed the situation on Armenian-Azerbaijan border and the ways of its normalization. At the end of the meeting the sides signed communique on stopping the fire and restoration of the stability on the border between Armenia and Nakhichevan.

Supreme Court Decision on Russian Soldiers 'Final'

NC1405154893 Baku TURAN in English 1457 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Baku, 14 May (TURAN)—The chairman of the military board of the Supreme Court of Azerbaijan Shahin Rustamov said in the interview to TURAN correspondent that a sentence on six soldiers of Russian Army accused of diversion activity against Azerbaijan is final and without right of appeal.

Rustamov noted that the appeal to deliver up the war criminals to Russia is irrelevant for according to the law the criminals must be accused in the state where they commit a crime.

According to Rustamov the demands to give the convicted men the prisoner of war status are ungrounded as Russia and Azerbaijan are not at war. On the other hand Russia disproved officially the information of its soldiers participation in the fighting on Armenian side. Thus the service men are accused as mercenaries and they confirmed it during the investigation.

As it turned out six Russian soldiers were transfered to Karabakh on the direct initiative of the defence minister of Armenia of that time Sargisyan.

According to the accused men the Russian colonel Yevgeny is occupied with the working up of military operations against Azeri men in Khankendi (Stepanakert).

Rustamov also noted that mothers of accused presented at the court sitting entered a protest against Russian policy of Russian soldiers participation in the war against Azerbaijan. Russian mothers announced a resoluteness to begin a protest movement against this policy of Russian authorities when they would return to Russia, said Rustamov.

Chinese Science, Technology Delegation Arrives in Baku

OW1505011193 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 12 May 93

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] A PRC Government delegation headed by Chen Zutao, member of the Commission on Science and Technology, a position at the level of deputy minister, has arrived in Baku on a familiarization visit. This was reported by the Foreign Affairs Ministry press service. The purpose of the visit is to establish ties between Azerbaijan and the PRC in various fields of science and technology and to find bilateral prospects for cooperation.

During the visit, the guests will attend meetings at the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan and at the State Committee on Science and Technology, and will tour Neftechalinskiy Rayon.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Comments on Moscow Talks With Yeltsin

LD1505110093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 14 May 93

[Interview with Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Lili Magalashvili in Tbilisi on 14 May—recorded]

[Text] As we have already informed you, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state—who went to Moscow for a working visit last night—met Russian President Boris Yeltsin. About a half an hour ago, the Georgian delegation returned to Tbilisi. Mr. Shevardnadze conducted a spontaneous news conference at Tbilisi airport. We would like to offer you our correspondent Lili Magalashvili's interview with Mr. Shevardnadze.

[Begin recording] [Magalashvili] Can it be said that a new stage has begun in the relations between Russia and Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] By all means. It has begun, and now building is necessary.

[Magalashvili] What personal impressions have you returned with?

[Shevardnadze] It was better than I expected. If we consider the talks with regard to the results, they achieved more than we had thought and planned. Practically, it is a major agreement—together with the economic agreement, the agreement on borders, and others. We simply need more time. We have to look at it with a sober eye. As I have said, we may sign the agreement by the middle of June, and we will begin new relations and new life with the two countries coexisting. [end recording]

Defense Minister, Grachev Achieve 'Practical Agreements'

LD1505154293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1317 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] IPRINDA correspondent Zurab Dvali has telephoned this report from Tbilisi for our afternoon Mayak Panorama:

[Begin Dvali recording] As you know, during yesterday's meeting in Moscow between the Russian and Georgian heads of state, agreement was reached that talks needed to be held between the two countries' defense ministers in order to speed up the process of a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia and to resolve problematic

issues connected with the presence of Russian forces in the territory of Georgia. Such a meeting took place this morning, and Georgian Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili had a conversation with his Russian counterpart Pavel Grachev.

As Karkarashvili himself later stated, a number of practical agreements were reached. There is, for example, an accord on the withdrawal of Russian military units from Georgia by the end of 1995—in line with a draft jointly drawn up by Georgian and Russian experts.

In addition, agreement has been reached on dismantling the Russian seismological secret laboratory at Nizhniye Eshery in Abkhazia and the withdrawal from its territory of the Russian paratroop battalion. The Georgian defense minister noted that this accord will probably be formulated in a relevant decree in the near future. It is planned to begin the dismantling of this installation at Nizhniye Eshery after 20 May, under the conditions of the cease- fire in the conflict zone that was agreed to yesterday at the meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Georgian state leader Eduard Shevardnadze.

Together with the aforementioned accords, a decision was made today to set up a joint group of Russian and Georgian military experts in the conflict zone in Abkhazia. They will be engaged in elaborating proposals for a mechanism to localize the armed confrontation in this region. According to the available information, the experts will be headed on the Russian side by Colonel General Galkin, who is in command of the operational group of Russian forces at Gudauta. The Georgian military specialists will be headed by Georgian Deputy Defense Minister Levan Sharashenidze. The sides will get down to their joint work on 17 May.

The results of today's meeting between the Russian and Georgian defense ministers bring a certain amount of optimism to the issue of improving the relations between Georgia and Russia and to the problem of a peaceful resolution of the Abkhazian conflict. Time will show how effectively these agreements will work. At any rate, beginning yesterday afternoon, there has, on the whole, been a lull in the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian armed conflict. [end recording]

Abkhazia Ready for Cease-Fire if Georgia Withdraws Troops

LD1505174893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1740 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 15 ITAR-TASS—"We unconditionally agree to put an end to shooting after Georgia withdraws its troops from Abkhazia," Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba said today.

According to the press office of the Parliament of the Republic of Abkhazia, Ardzinba said in his comments on the results of the Yeltsin-Shevardnadze summit in Moscow that the meeting "confirmed Russia's principled stand on the war in Abkhazia. This position was first formulated in the Russian president's appeal to the leaders of Georgia and Abkhazia on August 26, 1992, which insisted on the need for the prompt pull out of troops and an end to combat activities".

Abkhazian Council Issues Statement on Sukhumi Attacks

LD1505081993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2320 GMT 14 May 93

[By GIA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Sukhumi, 15 May—The Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia has issued a statement on the shelling of the city, pinning the blame for the action on the "Gudauta separatists". While noting the positive results of the Russo-Georgian summit, the Defense Council points out that the separatists "have proved once again that they do not have the slightest desire for peace and are prepared to resort to anything, to countless human casualties, in order to achieve their dubious ambitions."

Moreover, the document expresses the assumption that these forces "will keep trying to ruin the current Moscow agreement, just as they once torpedoed the final document of the Moscow meeting of 3 September".

Abkhazian Official 'Ready' To Order Destruction of Esheri Lab

LD1505000993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2005 GMT 14 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Tamaz Nadareishvili [chairman of the Abkhazian cabinet of ministers] has stated on Georgian radio that he is ready to give the order to destroy the seismic laboratory belonging to the Russian Defense Ministry in the village of Esheri and the 901st airborne assault and surface attack battalion stationed in the town of Sukhumi.

Georgian soldiers, however, have not been making themselves wait for long. According to information from the operational group of Russian forces in Abkhazia, last night Georgian subunits deliberately subjected the seismic laboratory to artillery fire for 40 minutes. Grad installations were used today to shell the town of Novyy Afon. Three residential buildings were destroyed. Luckily there were no casualties. In these circumstances, the Russian troops, who are remaining neutral, carried out combat exercises today in Gudauta waters.

Criticizes Russian Media Coverage

LD1405163693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Now we will present a statement by Tamaz Nadareishvili, the chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers, addressed to Mr. Zemskiy, the Russian ambassador in the Republic of Georgia; Mr. Lysenko, the general manager of the All-Russian TV and Radio Company; and Mr. Bragin, the chairman of the state TV and radio company Ostankino:

A feeling of protest arises as the Russian mass media do not reflect adequately the statements of the government of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic [AR], supported by the leadership of the republic of Georgia and UN representatives, that it is ready for peace negotiations. As for the insinuations and rumors, which impede the peace process, they find no obstacles on their way to the pages of newspapers and magazines and the programs of Russian television and radio. For example, on 13 May, the evening broadcast of the television information programs Vesti and Novosti roughly distorted contents of my radio interview aiming to present the Abkhazian Government and me personally as people who hinder the establishment of peace in the republic.

To discredit the government of the Abkhazian AR—this was the chief goal of the gossip broadcast in this morning's program of Novosti about the republic leadership's fleeing Sukhumi. Its aim was to provoke panic among the inhabitants of the town, allegedly abandoned by the government.

In connection with all the aforementioned, I state that I, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Abkhazia and the chairman of the Defense Council, have always been in Sukhumi since the military conflict in Abkhazia began and will stay with my people. I will try to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict. In addition, I think it essential to say that these sort of broadcasts are nothing more than an attempt to complicate the situation before the new stage of Russian-Georgian negotiations.

Iran's Va'ezi Arrives To Arrange Velayati 18-20 May Visit

LD1605114993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1115 GMT 16 May 93

[Report by GIA correspondent Yuriy Goldman for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 16 May—Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi has arrived in Georgia. Together with a working group which arrived from Tehran yesterday, he is to prepare the official visit to Georgia by Iranian Foreign Affairs Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, which will take place from 18 to 20 May.

Both sides are attaching great importance to this visit, which they believe should promote the further strengthening of relations between Iran and Georgia. These have been developing successfully following the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries at the end of last year.

A Georgian government decision has set up a special commission to implement the package of 19 agreements signed during the visit to Tehran in January this year by a Georgian delegation led by Eduard Shevardnadze.

Velayati's talks in Tbilisi are expected to focus mainly on the problems of the peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh and on trade and economic cooperation between Georgia and Iran.

Latvia

Jundzis, Gorbunovs Talk With Swedish Defense Minister

LD1705122393 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 17 May 93

[Text] Talks between Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis and Swedish Defense Minister Anders Bjorck were held in the Latvian Defense Ministry this morning. Later, Bjorck was received by Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia. One of the issues the Swedish defense minister will discuss during his visit is the illegal migration of Kurdish refugees.

The Swedish Ministry of Defense delegation will also visit the Bolderaja naval base in Riga.

Navy Chief Condemns Lack of Nordic Aid

PM1405145693 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 9 May 93 p 32

[Sune Olofsson report: "From Nuclear-Armed Ships to Five Small Patrol Boats"]

[Text] Riga—For 28 years Latvian Gaidis Zeibots, 47, was an officer in the Soviet Baltic Fleet. For six years he commanded a number of nuclear-armed vessels. Today he is head of Latvia's navy, which comprises five small patrol boats and 350 men. A case of David and Goliath.

Zeibots' potential adversary is Russian Admiral Vladimir Yegorov, a good friend and colleague for 12 years who is now head of the Russian Baltic Fleet based in Kaliningrad and the closed submarine town of Baltiysk.

"I am irritated by the Nordic countries' passivity when it comes to military support for the Baltic region. When we are all in Siberia we will not need any weapons. By then it will be too late for Sweden to export," Gaidis Zeibots said, getting into a waiting Latvian staff car which accelerated toward the port of Riga.

Gaidis Zeibots said that he wanted to show us how the Russians behave on Latvian territory, almost two years after independence.

We drove up to the Russian guard and after a short conversation between a Russian officer and the uniformed Zeibots we were admitted to the port area which the Russians still control.

"The Russians did it in Paldiski and now they are doing it in Riga and Ventspils. They steal, burn, and destroy everything of value during their exodus. It is an international scandal which no one seems to care about," said Latvian Janis Adamsons, Zeibots' closest aide who in the years 1979-92 served as a Russian officer on the disputed Kuril Islands off Japan.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Russians are making systematic use of scorched earth tactics. The Soviet naval base in Riga is today almost completely dismantled. We drove past building after building that had been plundered and destroyed. Every pane of glass had been shattered, doors and thresholds have been torn out, and the boilers for heating removed. A five-story building, around 150 meters long and built in the early eighties, is an empty shell. We wandered into two buildings which the Russians recently handed over to the Latvians. The floors are covered in black soot; there is a smell of burning, and electric cables, sinks, and toilet seats have been torn out. In every room there are piles of rubbish and waste.

"It will take years for us to restore all this," sighed Gaidis Zeibots, who nevertheless became as happy as a child when he saw three 25mm ship's guns from the forties fixed to the floor of one room.

"They were used in the training of Russian officers. We will unbolt them and put them in our store. They could come in useful one day."

Down in the harbor an old Russian submarine and an old freighter lay rusting. When we drove out of the area Zeibots pointed to a grass-covered hill and claimed that the Russian security service is still ensconced under it, but that it too will have to pack up shortly.

In the years 1922-39 the state of Latvia had its own fleet—42 ships and two submarines built in France. By the standards of the time Latvia could operate in the Baltic with some respect. Today things are different.

"Naturally, we are not even able to maintain surveillance over our own 500 kilometer coastal strip. The field is now wide open to drug and copper smugglers, refugee boats, and terrorists who want to get into the Nordic area. I think that Swedish politicians should understand that help for us is also help for Sweden and the other states around the Baltic Sea," Zeibots pointed out, as he stepped aboard the gift from Sweden—a small but operational coastal surveillance vessel. His demonstration of gratitude was restrained.

Nearby the Latvian air force is parked—two freshly painted former Czechoslovak L410 surveillance planes, a gift from Germany. Using these two planes surveillance is to be maintained over the entire length of Latvia's frontiers at sea and in the air. They do not have working radar systems. The pilots maintain surveillance with the naked eye when the weather is fine.

It is a fact that in a number of high-ranking posts in the Latvian defense forces there are Latvians with a past in the Soviet defense forces. I wondered what happened when Zeibots, who was born in Gauijena near the Estonian border, changed sides and how he was able to serve the occupying power for 28 years.

He was silent for a lengthy period and them he began to tell me about his career, how he was trained in radio electronics in the Leningrad military district and his subsequent placement on a destroyer. He attended

officers' college and became the captain of a ship. In 1980 he completed the navy's two-year academy and was promoted to deputy chief of staff for a division of ships, 25 ships, headed by the Groznyy, a destroyer. The division had over 300 nuclear missiles. For six years he was was a commander at the secret naval base at Baltiysk. From 1986 to 1988 he acted as Russian Admiral Ichenko's deputy at the Liepaja naval base.

"At the end of 1988 political unrest began to grow in Latvia. I was transferred by the then head of the Soviet Baltic Fleet, Vitaliy Ivanov, for service in Poland and from there I followed the unrest in Latvia."

In August 1991 Zeibots began confidential talks with Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis and the talks resulted in a request to both the Russian and Latvian authorities that Zeibots be allowed to join the Latvian defense forces. All the documents were ready on 7 April 1992. But it was a slow process with many invisible middlemen.

"I could write a novel about how the Russian authorities tried to use all the means available to stop my transfer. The first thing they did was to take away my pension after 28 years of service."

Zeibots said that from time to time even the Latvian newspapers have a sly dig at him. Recently one journalist wrote that Zeibots had sewn his Latvian uniform himself, that he never turned down high-ranking positions, and that it would be better to have an American tractor driver as head of Latvia's fleet.

"The old Soviet system and the old way of thinking remains strong, even among Latvians. I hope and believe that I was given my post on merit. At least it was not a party membership book, kinship, or good communist friends that started my new career."

Zeibots said that 20 years ago he did not believe in a free Latvia.

"But nor could I be reconciled to the idea of the Soviet Union as my homeland. I believe that the Soviet Union fell because the Russians lost their homeland. We Balts carried a dream inside us, a flame which never went out. People who hope, long, and believe are most often those who survive."

Gaidis Zeibots has only good words for his potential adversary, his Russian fellow officer Vladimir Yegorov.

"He is actually one of the few who understand our situation. Yegorov is one of the high-ranking Russian officers and has a modern way of thinking. Thanks to him the talks about the withdrawal of naval forces have gone well. Today no Russian ship has the right to enter Latvian ports without our permission. But I know that Yegorov is under great pressure."

The Russians have had difficulty in fully realizing that Latvian territory is no longer Russian. Zeibots said that to the very end the Russians wanted to keep the Liepaja naval base which must be evacuated by the last quarter of 1994 at the latest. It was proposed that Russia should rent the base and a ready written contract was placed on the negotiating table. Another proposal was for joint Russian-Baltic surveillance of the Baltic.

"Our answer was a categorical 'no.'"

An obvious question to naval officer Gaidis Zeibots is what view he takes of the submarine problem in the Baltic.

"If Russian minisubmarines have violated Swedish waters, I am almost 100 percent sure that they do not belong to the Russian baltic Fleet. They must instead be part of some secret structure which has its own bases. It is possible that it might be GRU, the Russian military intelligence service, which still has premises in Riga, for example. Personally I believe that submarine 137 found its way into Karlskrona archipelago as a result of navigational errors. As far as I know its was not some top-secret spy operation."

Zeibots is unable to understand Prime Minister Carl Bildt's and Defense Minister Anders Bjorck's reluctance to export arms to the Baltic region.

"Swedish mothers are hardly likely to be prepared to send their sons to defend the Baltic region. At least give us the opportunity to defend ourselves. I think that by saying 'no' Sweden is declaring Latvia to be unfit to run its own affairs. We balts have shown that we are normal people who do not run around shooting people at random. We can handle sensitive situations. We know nothing about tomorrow's Russia—a Russia that is seething with unrest. The countries of the Nordic area have a special responsibility for stability and security around the Baltic Sea, but I believe that Sweden has an unnatural fear of Russia."

Janis Adamsons added with a twinkle in his eye that Sweden could begin by paying back a debt from 1939, when Latvia made an advance payment of 1.5 million kronor for military materiel, but there was never any delivery and, according to Adamsons, the debt has never been settled.